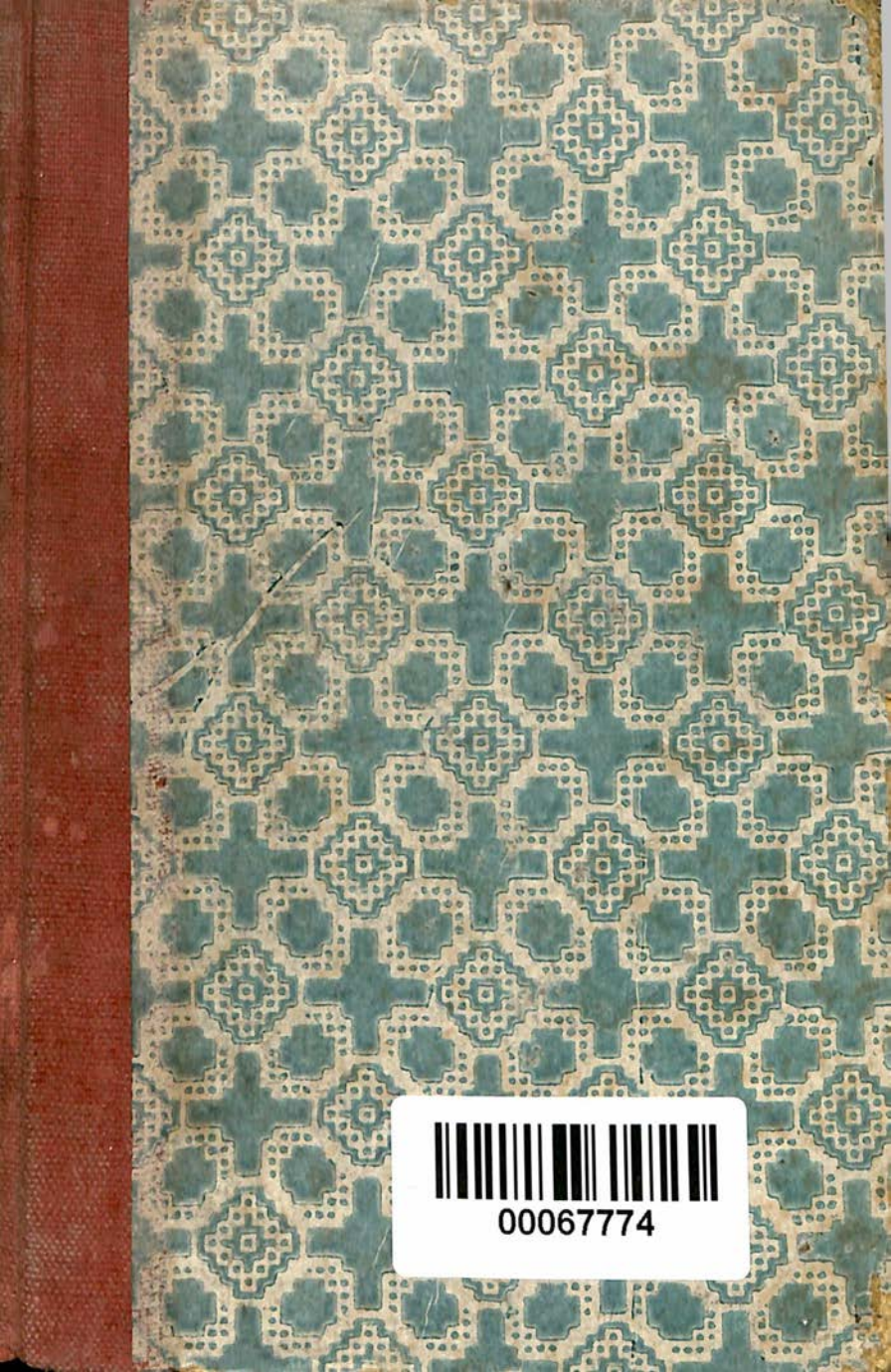

00067774

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY-400 023.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

ATHANASIAN CREED

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

Crown 8vo. 8s. 6d.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED: an Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin. With a Postscript referring to Professor Swainson's Account of its Growth and Reception, which is contained in his Work entitled "The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, their Literary History."

RIVINGTONS: LONDON, OXFORD, AND CAMBRIDGE.

[C-85.]

EARLY HISTORY

OF THE

ATHANASIAN CREED

The Results of some Original Research upon the Subject

WITH AN APPENDIX

CONTAINING FOUR ANCIENT COMMENTARIES, THREE OF WHICH ARE NOW PRINTED FOR THE FIRST TIME, ETC.

BY

G. D. W. OMMANNEY, M.A.

VICAR OF DRAYCOT, SOMERSET

Author of "The Athanasian Creed: an Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin"

67774

RIVINGTONS

WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON

Oxford and Cambridge

MDCCCLXXX


00067774

PREFACE.

THIS work is one essentially of a fragmentary and supplementary character. It does not aim at giving a complete account of the Creed of St. Athanasius in any stage or department of its history. A few years ago—at the time of the agitation respecting the retention of the Creed in the services of the Church of England—my sense of the mischief which was being wrought by the theories of Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson induced me to prepare and publish an examination of the arguments employed by those scholars. And I laid down my pen with the fullest conviction of the sufficiency of my case, notwithstanding the feebleness of its exponent. But the subject interested me so deeply that I was unable to throw it aside; and I was led on to seek for further information from original sources, which previously had not engaged my attention. Hence my researches in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, the Troyes, the British Museum, and the Bodleian Libraries, the results of which are contained in the present volume. At the same time, other matter has been cast in—I

hope not unsuitably—either with the view of supplying omissions in my former work or of meeting arguments more recently urged against the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed. To this head may be referred my remarks respecting the sources of Fortunatus's Commentary, the explicit assertion of the doctrine of the double procession, the expression "in sæculo natus," the Milan MS., and the relation of the Quicunque to the Trèves fragment.

It is my pleasing duty to tender my grateful acknowledgments for advice, or help, or valuable information to the Dean of Chichester, Mr. Thompson and Mr. Bond of the British Museum, Mr. Coxe and Mr. Macray of the Bodleian Library, and Dr. Nolte. Especially my thanks are due to Monsieur Delisle, the Director of the National Library at Paris, and to Monsieur Socard, the Conservator of the Public Library at Troyes, and their coadjutors. Of the courtesy which I, a perfect stranger and an obscure Englishman, experienced from these gentlemen, I shall ever retain an agreeable recollection; to their generosity in granting me free access to the treasures under their guardianship I am indebted for my principal materials.

February, 1880.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ANCIENT COMMENTARIES HITHERTO UNNOTICED.

Page

THREE Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed copied from manuscripts in the Public Library at Troyes, in France; a fourth from a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. These four Commentaries older than any Commentary extant on this Creed, with the exception of that attributed to Venantius Fortunatus 1

Two of these expositions in the same MS.—Troyes, 804 . . 2

The first of these two has an evident connection with that of Fortunatus—now first printed—described in this work as the "Troyes Commentary" 3

The second is quite different, quotes the whole of the Creed, is compiled largely from the Fathers—called here the "Oratorian Commentary" 4

This Commentary has been edited by Mai and Pinius from a manuscript in the Vatican Library 6

Dr. Swainson's mistake with respect to this Vatican MS. . 7

The preface annexed to this Commentary in the Vatican manuscript 8

A third Commentary in two MSS. at Troyes—one of the tenth century, the other of the twelfth. Another copy of it recently found in the British Museum. This Commentary called here the "Bouhier Commentary" 11

This Commentary also quotes the whole of the Creed. It is closely connected with the Oratorian, containing much in common with it; though at the same time each exhibits much which is not in the other, showing that they are distinct documents . . 13

As regards the common matter, the Bouhier Commentary was drawn from the Oratorian. This shown by examples . . . 14

Page

The Oratorian Commentary is consequently the earlier of the two 22

A fourth ancient Commentary from a manuscript of the early part of the tenth century in the Paris Library. This to be described as the "Paris Commentary" 23

The dates of these Commentaries 25

The Paris Commentary composed not earlier than the seventh nor later than the ninth century 26

The Oratorian drawn up soon after the Sixth General Council —at the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century; the Bouhier shortly after 27

The Troyes between A.D. 649 and A.D. 680 33

These Commentaries afford new and additional evidence of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed—also of the Commentary of Fortunatus 34

Distinct evidence to the antiquity of the Creed found in the preface to the Oratorian and Bouhier Commentaries . . . 37

The Oratorian Commentary was extensively known and used in the Middle Ages. This shown by the fact that a series of notes on the Creed, which appears in a Psalter of the thirteenth century, in the Bodleian Library, and others of the same epoch, was partly drawn from it. The Hampole Commentary was also partly drawn from it 38

Some notes from the Paris Commentary appear in the British Museum MS. 2 B. V. 41

Dr. Swainson's mistakes in his description of that manuscript 44

FORTUNATUS'S COMMENTARY.

Three copies of this Commentary, hitherto unnoticed, found by me in the Paris Library 47

Two more found by the Rev. W. D. Macray in the Library at Bamberg, in Bavaria 49

Thus eight ancient MS. copies of this Commentary are known of 49

These newly discovered copies do not contain the passages from Alcuin and Isidore, which are found in the Milan but not in the Oxford copy. Hence these passages did not belong to the Commentary originally, and their appearance in the Milan MS. is no proof that the Commentary is later than Alcuin 51

This Commentary is not drawn from Alcuin in any places . 52

Page

Several passages in the 'Sermo de Symbolo,' which is printed in the appendix to St. Augustine, drawn from this Commentary 56

It has two passages which appear also in the 'Damasi Symbolum' 59

It cannot be proved in any instance to have been drawn from any source later than the sixth century 61

HAMPOLE'S COMMENTARY.

This appears to be drawn from the Commentary, of which a copy is contained in the Bodleian MS. Canonici Bibl. 30 . . 62

BRUNO'S COMMENTARY.

Some account of a manuscript of this Commentary, belonging to the eleventh century, in the Bodleian Library . . . 63

This Commentary was really not the work of Bruno, but was extant in substance before his time. He transferred it to his Psalter with some alteration and the addition of three passages from Fortunatus 67

OTHER COMMENTARIES.

Commentary in the form of question and answer, in a British Museum MS. 78

Copies of the Commentary of Simon Tornacensis, in two Paris MSS. of the thirteenth century 80

Copy of the Commentary of Alexander Neckam, in a British Museum MS. 81

Commentary in a MS. of the Bodleian Library—Laud, 493. Waterland's mistake respecting it 81

Commentary of Dionysius Carthusianus 84

The subject of Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed of great importance in relation to its history. The great number of them evidence of its wide acceptance in the Church . . 84

THE CANON OF AUTUN.

Account of Paris manuscripts containing it 88

Latin, 1603, in which is found a copy of the Angers Collection 88

Account of Latin, 3848 B, which contains a copy of the Herovall Collection 92

Also of Latin, 2123, containing the same collection . . 96

Page

The latter MS. of the ninth century, but not prior to A.D. 814; and proved to be copied in great measure from the former . . 102

Two other Paris Latin MSS., numbered 4281 and 2400, containing the Herovall Collection 104

The points to be noted in these MSS. in reference to our subject 105

First, they prove that a Synod was held at Autun under St. Leger, at which certain Canons were passed 106

Then that the Canon enjoining the recital of the Athanasian Creed was the first of a series of Autun Canons 107

And this Canon was probably enacted at the same Synod as the other Canons of Autun, which are contained in these collections 108

Objections to this conclusion answered 108

In any case, this Canon cannot be later than the end of the seventh century 111

Exact date of the Synod of Autun uncertain. Probably it was held between the years 670 and 673 114

The antiquity of the Autun Canon corroborated by the preface to the Oratorian Commentary 116

Probable account of the Definitions of the first five Councils and of the Lateran Synod of A.D. 649, appearing in Paris, 3848 B, before the Autun Canon 117

SERMONS ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

Some of these, delivered at the "Traditio Symboli," supply evidence of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed by adopting its language. This is the case with a sermon, of which there are copies in the Paris Latin MSS., 3848 B and 2123, as well as with a sermon, attributed to Cæsarius of Arles, which is printed in the appendix to St. Augustine's works. The former the earlier of the two 120

The fragment preserved in Paris, Latin, 3836, commonly known as the Colbertine MS., must have belonged to a sermon of this class 126

Erroneous views in regard to this fragment 128

EARLY VERNACULAR VERSIONS OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED 129

Page

THE ATHANASIAN CREED RECITED DAILY IN SOME CHURCHES IN THE TENTH CENTURY . . . 133

MANUSCRIPTS NOT PREVIOUSLY NOTICED.

Canonic. Eccl. 88 of the Bodleian Library, a Psalter of the eleventh century. The Athanasian Creed described in it as "Fides Anathasii episcopi" 135

Paris, Latin, 11,550, a Psalter of the eleventh century . . 139

Paris, Latin, 2341? a MS. of the tenth century, contains a series of twelve professions of Faith, among them the Athanasian Creed 141

Paris, Latin, 2076, of the same century, contains the same series 143

British Museum Addit. MSS. 19,725, a MS. of the early part of the tenth century. Though unnoticed hitherto, it serves to illustrate the history of the use and reception of the Athanasian Creed in the ninth century. It contains fifteen "capitula" of canonical directions for the clergy, the second of which requires the use of the Athanasian as well as the Apostles' Creed. These capitula of the time of the Emperor Lothaire, as appears from the order, given by one of them, to pray for him and his sons. The two first of earlier origin. They are erroneously printed as part of the work of Jesse of Amiens on baptism 144

Mention of the completion of the sixth milliary, or millenary, in this MS. 150

Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce, 59, a Psalter of the end of the ninth century or beginning of the tenth, containing the Athanasian Creed 153

Psalter of Count Henry at Troyes—assigned to the ninth century—also contains the Creed. Its history 154

Paris, Latin, 13,388, a MS. of the ninth century, contains an abbreviated Psalter, attributed to Bede, which is followed by a prayer to be used after the recital of the Quicunque 157

The Psalter of Lothaire the emperor, containing the Creed. Some account of its contents and history. It was noticed by Martone in his 'Voyage Literaire;' was for a time lost sight of, but has been recently discovered and imported to England . 167

Vat. Palat. 574, a MS. assigned by Reifferscheid to the

Page

ninth century, though it may be earlier. It contains an early Gallican collection of Canons, with the Quicunque among some additamenta. 170

Paris, Latin, 4858, a MS. belonging to the end of the eighth century. It contains the commencing verses of the Creed, the rest being lost by violent usage done to the volume . . . 171

Paris, Latin, 1451, a MS. bearing date between the death of Pope Adrian I. at Christmas, A.D. 795, and the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor at Christmas, A.D. 800. It contains a Gallican collection of Canons preceded by the Athanasian Creed among other documents . . . ? . . . 174

Paris, Latin, 13,159, a Psalter containing the Athanasian Creed. Some account of it. Written, as is proved by the Litanies at the end, at the commencement of the Pontificate of Leo III. prior to the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor . 181

Milan MS. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, O 212, contains the Athanasian Creed. Pronounced by competent authorities to be not later than the eighth century. Reply to the arguments of Dr. Lumby and Dr. Swainson, who endeavour to prove it to be later 190

Ancient Canon considered by the Ballerini to refer to the Quicunque, and assigned by them to the sixth century. Ground of their opinion respecting its date 198

Paris, Latin, 10,592. Mistake of Dr. Swainson respecting this MS., which contains only some works of St. Cyprian, not a Psalter in addition, as he erroneously states 200

Paris, Latin, 11,947. The celebrated Psalter of St. Germain, of the sixth century. It has at the end the apocryphal 151st Psalm, but no Canticles or Creeds 201

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE TWO PROFESSIONS OF FAITH ENTITLED 'FIDES ROMANORUM' AND 'DAMASI SYMBOLUM' 202

REMARKS ON THE TEXT OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The Trèves fragment, found in Paris, 3836, commonly called the Colbertine MS., cannot be used for determining the true text of the Quicunque. Remarkable accordance of ancient MSS. as

Page

regards the text. They differ but slightly from the present received text. The Damnatory Clauses omitted by none. Readings of verses 25, 28, 29, 33 213

REMARKS ON SOME PASSAGES OF THE SAME CREED.

Verses 7-18. Bishop Thirlwall's criticism upon these verses. Verse 22. The explicit assertion by the Creed of the doctrine of the double procession, no proof that it was drawn up after the Third Council of Toledo, A.D. 589. Verse 31. "In sæculo natus." Dr. Swainson's hypothesis respecting this expression, that it was unknown and unused from A.D. 451 to the eighth century, cannot be substantiated 225

RELATION OF THE TRÈVES FRAGMENT TO THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

The former was grounded upon the latter, not the reverse. This is proved by a comparison in detail of the two documents . 249

Some account of the "Traditio Symboli" 265

CONCLUSION.

I. The antiquity of the Athanasian Creed has been shown by (*a.*) manuscript copies of it; (*b.*) Commentaries upon it; (*c.*) ecclesiastical Canons relating to it; and (*d.*) discourses, or sermons, making use of its phraseology 267

(*a.*) Vat. Pal. 574, Paris 3848 B, Paris 1451, and Paris 13,159—all unknown to Waterland, and all containing the Creed in its integrity, alone prove its existence considerably before the ninth century 267

Paris, 4858, and Milan, O 212 271

No reference made to the Vienna Psalter 271

The fact of no MS. of the Creed earlier than the eighth century being now extant, no proof that it cannot belong to a higher antiquity 271

The Utrecht Psalter not adduced for evidence on account of the great diversity of opinion respecting its date . . . 272

(*b.*) New and additional evidence of the Creed's antiquity furnished by the Paris, the Bouhier, the Oratorian, and the Troyes Commentaries, especially by the Oratorian . . . 273

Page

Confirmatory proof also produced of the antiquity of Fortunatus's Commentary, viz., that it was drawn up before the Monothelete controversy 276

(*c.*) Fresh evidence of the early canonical use of the Creed found in a series of capitula drawn up in the time of the Emperor Lothaire 276

The Autun Canon. Abundant evidence of its antiquity. This Canon proof that the recital of the Creed was enjoined upon the clergy in the seventh century 277

(*d.*) The ancient sermons, incorporating or adapting the language of the Creed, and thereby furnishing proof of its antiquity, are that of which the Trèves fragment is a part; a sermon attributed to Cæsarius, printed in the appendix to St. Augustine; and an earlier one found in two Paris manuscripts . 279

The conclusion from the whole evidence is that the Athanasian Creed was composed in the first half of the fifth century . . 282

Almost all this evidence is new—the result of recent inquiries 283

II. The authorship of the Creed 284

No light thrown upon the point by the documents which have been under consideration 284

The language of the Creed being largely drawn from the writings of St. Augustine, proves that it could not have been composed before his time 284

None to whom it can be assigned with so high a degree of probability as St. Vincent of Lerins. Grounds of this opinion . 286

Possible account of its being attributed to St. Athanasius . 289

III. Ancient use of the Athanasian Creed in Church offices . 296

The evidence of such use carried up to the commencement of the eighth century 296

Dr. Swainson's list of Psalters not containing the Quicunque inconclusive for the purpose of disproving its ancient use in Church offices 298

Its early use in England shown by the prayer to be said after its recital found in Bede's Psalter, and by its appearance in early English Psalters 302

Its use anciently not confined to the clergy 303

IV. No evidence has been produced of the Athanasian Creed having been formed by a process of accretion 305

Not a single ancient MS. can be alleged in support of the theory 306

The Trèves fragment, not being a portion of the Creed, but of

Page

a sermon founded upon it, cannot be adduced to show what was the original text of the Creed 306

The bearing of the Troyes Commentary on this point . . 307

The preface to the Oratorian Commentary supplies a positive disproof of the theory 308

APPENDIX.

A. The Troyes Commentary printed from Troyes, 804 . . 311

B. The Oratorian Commentary from the same MS., with collations from Mai's edition 327

C. The Bouhier Commentary from Troyes, 1979, with collations from Troyes, 1532, and British Museum Addit. 24,902 . . 355

D. Preface to the Oratorian Commentary as edited by Mai from a MS. at Rome 375

E. The Paris Commentary from Paris Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 1012 376

F. Collations of the text of Fortunatus's Commentary from Latin MSS. 1008, 2826, and 17,448 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris 387

G. Copy of the expository portion of a sermon on the Apostles' Creed, delivered at the "Traditio Symboli," in the Paris Latin MSS. 3848 B and 2123. Also of the corresponding portion of 'Sermo' ccxliv. in the fourth appendix to St. Augustine . . 393

H. Copy of the profession of Faith sometimes entitled 'Fides Romanorum' in the Paris Latin MS. 1451. Also of two professions of Faith in the Paris Latin MS. 3836. Also of the 'Damasi Symbolum' from the Paris Latin MS. 1684, and of a profession of Faith bearing the title of "Fides Catholica" in the British Museum MS. Reg. 2. A XX. 397

I. The text of the Creed of St. Athanasius, as printed in Waterland's 'History,' with various readings from fourteen ancient manuscripts 402

J. Copy of the Trèves fragment in Paris, Latin, 3836 (Colbert. 784), commonly known as the Colbertine MS. of the Quicunque 408

ANCIENT COMMENTARIES ON THE ATHANASIAN CREED HITHERTO UNNOTICED.

IN searching through the authorized catalogue of manuscripts in the public provincial libraries of France, in the summer of 1875, my attention was drawn to the notices of three MSS. in the library of Troyes, containing Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, necessarily older, according to the dates assigned to the MSS., than any Commentary described by Waterland and generally known, with the exception of that which is attributed to Venantius Fortunatus. My curiosity being thus excited, I was tempted, in the autumn of the same year, to visit the library at Troyes. And I was amply rewarded for my trouble. I found copies of three ancient Commentaries on the Quicunque vult; and, through the exceeding kindness and courtesy of the librarian, M. Socard, I was enabled, during that visit and a subsequent one, to transcribe these documents. In the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, where I also experienced the most ready and generous assistance on the part of the authorities, in the spring of 1876, I found another ancient Commentary on the same Creed, entirely different from any of those in the Troyes Library; and of this also I made a copy. To these four Com-

mentaries, which have hitherto escaped notice almost entirely—their existence being unknown to Waterland —I desire to draw attention. To my mind, they are important and interesting—first, by reason of their antiquity; then as dogmatic statements of the great doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation; and lastly, as serving to illustrate the early history of the great formulary of the Faith, which is their subject matter, and affording new and confirmatory evidence of the antiquity of that form of sound words. I proceed to give some account of them, and shall then endeavour to determine approximately their several dates.

Two of the Commentaries at Troyes are contained in the same MS., No. 804. This codex is a bulky quarto of 243 leaves. It comprises twenty-four documents, including the two expositions of the Quicunque, two expositions of the Lord's Prayer, three of the Apostles' Creed, the so-called Creed of St. Jerome, works of St. Augustine, Fulgentius, and Theodulph. The catalogue assigns it to the ninth or tenth century, but in the opinion of the librarian it belongs to the latter. In a note it is said to be "De la Bibliothèque du Collége de l'Oratoire de Troyes Ancien fonds de Pithou."[1] The Benedictine Fathers Martene and Durand, in the account of their visit to Troyes in 1708, describe the Fathers of the oratory at that place as the possessors of many beautiful and varied manuscripts, which formed part of the library inherited by their establishment from the learned

[1] 'Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques,' tom. ii. pp. 334–336.

Pithou.[1] Pithou was a native of Troyes. When the college of the oratory shared the common fate of religious establishments at the time of the French Revolution, no doubt this manuscript, together with other literary treasures, passed to the library.

The first of the two Commentaries on the Quicunque in Troyes, No. 804, is apparently founded on the Commentary of Fortunatus. In the earlier portion—that relating to the doctrine of the Trinity—the connection is close and obvious, sometimes literal, the language in places being borrowed. In the latter part—that relating to the Incarnation—the Troyes Commentary does not follow that of Fortunatus so closely. There is little or no verbal correspondence, but a connection of thought may generally be traced. Throughout, the Troyes Commentary is the more full and complete document; and it contains much which is not to be found in the exposition of Fortunatus. This is particularly the case with regard to a long passage near the end, concerning the Resurrection and Final Judgment. It is deserving of notice that this Commentary, like that of Fortunatus, passes over in silence the 20th—"The Father is made," etc.—and two following verses, also the 27th—"So that in all things," etc.—and the two following. On the other hand, the former quotes several verses in the first portion of the Creed, viz., the 11th, 14th, 16th, and 18th, which the latter passes over, and omits to quote much of the second part relating to the Incarnation which is cited by the latter, though it is obvious

[1] 'Voyage Litteraire de Deux Benedictins,' vol. i. p. 94.

that the authors of both works must have had before them the whole of this second part. This Commentary is printed in Appendix A. To the best of my knowledge it has never been printed before. Whenever I have occasion to refer to it in future, I shall describe it, for convenience sake, as the "Troyes Commentary."

The second Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in Troyes, No. 804, follows immediately after the first, being introduced by the heading: "Item Alia Expositio." It is entirely different. The whole of the Creed is quoted verse by verse in succession, and each verse is made the subject of comment. This exposition is drawn largely from earlier sources, not merely as regards the substance, but the very language. I have myself been able to verify this to a great extent, as will appear by the notes I have added to the text; and I have no doubt that any person possessing a more intimate knowledge of the Fathers than I can pretend to, and a readier access to their works than it is my privilege to enjoy, would be able to trace in many more instances the sources from which it is derived. In fact, I conceive it to be almost a compilation from the Fathers; and such is the description given of it by the author, as we shall see very shortly. The sources to which I have been able to trace passages of this work, are as follows:—St. Augustine, 'Tractatus in Johan. Evangelium,' 'De Trinitate,' 'De Præsentia Dei,' 'De Genesi ad Literam,' 'Lib. con. Maximinum,' 'Epis. ad Volasianum;' Prosper, 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino;'

St. Leo, 'Epistles ad Flavianum' and 'ad Constantinopolitanos;' St. Cyril of Alexandria, 'Synodical Epistle,' translated by Dionysius Exiguus; Fulgentius, 'Liber de Fide ad Petrum;' Pelagius I., 'Epistle to Childebert;' Vigilius Tapsensis, 'Contra Eutychetem' and 'De Unitate Trinitatis;' the Creed of St. Jerome, so called; the Definition of the Sixth Œcumenical Council. St. Augustine's writings are evidently the principal source. There is much resemblance between this Commentary and Alcuin's work, 'De Fide SS. Trinitatis,' and in two passages the correspondence is verbal. But in each case I have traced the language to an earlier source—St. Augustine and Prosper; and in each it is clear that the Commentary did not draw directly from Alcuin, because, in addition to that which it has in common both with the original and with Alcuin, it contains other matter which is found in the former but not in the latter. The frequent resemblance in thought and matter which is noticeable between the two, may be sufficiently accounted for by their both having drawn from the same sources; but it is far from improbable that Alcuin was acquainted with the Commentary, and made use of it; for he was a great plagiarist. At any rate, there is no proof that the Commentary borrowed from Alcuin, and consequently is the product of an age subsequent to that in which he lived. Another passage in the Commentary bears an obvious similitude of expression with one in the first book of Alcuin against Felix. There the source is a passage in the fourth book of Vigilius against

Eutyches; and it is evident that it was not Alcuin, but Vigilius, that was immediately drawn from, the resemblance with the latter being much closer than with the former. This Commentary is printed in Appendix B. I shall distinguish it by the title of the "Oratorian Commentary," the MS. from which it is printed having formerly belonged to the Oratorian College at Troyes.

Cardinal Mai, in his 'Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio,' tom. ix. p. 396, has printed a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, entitled by him "Symboli Athanasiani Explanatio;" and said to be "ex codice sæculi circiter XI." Professor Jones, of St. Beuno's College, in drawing attention to this document in his valuable pamphlet on the 'Quicunque' (p. 59), stated it as the opinion of "Professor Bollig, one of the most learned members in the Society of Jesus, and an official writer in the Vatican Library," that that portion of the MS. which contains this "Explanatio" belongs to the beginning of the eleventh or the tenth century. The MS. is in the Vatican Library, its press-mark, No. 231, cod. MSS. lat. Reginensis. The same document had been previously edited by Pinius from the same MS., of which he says, "Scriptus videtur IX. vel X. sæculo," at Rome in the year 1746, in the second volume of his edition of 'Liturgia Antiqua Hispanica, Gothica, Isidoriana, Mozarabica, Toletana, Mixta.' Fortunately, an account of the MS. has been given by Arevalus, in his 'Isidoriana,' or preface to the works of St. Isidore of Seville. He describes it as written

in a "character clarus Gallicus," as containing works of Cassiodore, Prosper, Alcuin, Isidore, expositions of the Lord's Prayer, of the Apostles' and of the Athanasian Creeds—the last document being identical with the one in question, commencing "Injunxistis mihi illud," etc. We learn from him that the title attributed to it by Mai and Pinius has no place in the manuscript: "Sequitur sine titulo expositio symboli Quicunque." He concludes with the following remark:—"Ad celebrem controversiam de symbolo Athanasiano notandum jam sæculo X. animadversum fuisse *in veteribus codicibus* Athanasio ascribi." This reference is to the statement contained in the preface to this Commentary, which we shall notice by-and-by, viz., that the Creed was ascribed to Athanasius "*in veteribus codicibus*." Considering that, in the opinion of Arevalus, this Vatican MS. belongs to the tenth century, in that of Pinius to the ninth or tenth, in that of Professor Bollig to the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh, and in that of Mai to the eleventh or about that, we may fairly set it down to the tenth.

Dr. Swainson has fallen into a strange mistake with regard to this manuscript, in his notice of Pinius's edition of the Commentary which it contains.[1] "Hampole," he says, "had incorporated Bruno's exposition with some preliminary words, and to these the above seem to have been added. Our present writer, however" (meaning obviously the writer of the Commentary in Vat. Reg. 231); "follows up this exposition with Bruno's. For *as the same volume*," *i.e.*

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 459, 460.

the volume edited by Pinius, "*informs us*, in the manuscript there follows:—'Expositio Athasii de fide (*sic*). Quicunque vult—hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium posuit,' etc.—as in Bruno. Now all these, *if I understand the Roman editor aright*, are taken from the same manuscript, 'Reg. Alexand. Vat. No. 231,' which manuscript, the editor says, 'seems to have been written in the ninth or tenth century.'" The italics are my own. Dr. Swainson has certainly not understood the Roman editor aright, and a very little care might have saved him from the mistake of supposing that a copy of Bruno's Commentary is contained in the Vatican manuscript in question. Pinius has edited from this MS. the three expositions of the Lord's Prayer, of the Apostles' Creed, and of the Athanasian, in order; and after the last he has added a copy of Bruno's comment with the title, as given by Dr. Swainson. At the commencement of the exposition of the Lord's Prayer, he has supplied a marginal note, informing of the MS. from which it was taken, and he has given a similar note at the commencement of each of the two succeeding expositions, to signify that they were from the same manuscript—that at the commencement of the exposition of the Athanasian Creed being particularly full—"Ex codem codice Reg. Alexandriæ Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, signato No. 231." But there is no such marginal note at the Commencement of the copy of Bruno's Commentary, nor is there any intimation of the manuscript from which it was derived. There is only a marginal note in reference to the title,

stating it to be from the manuscript, but not stating from what manuscript—"Ita codex." So far, then, from Pinius *informing* us that the copy of Bruno was from the same manuscript as the preceding expositions edited by him, he gives us reason to believe that the opposite was the case. But Arevalus places the matter beyond the reach of doubt, giving as he does a very full and particular account of the contents of the manuscript, and the last of them mentioned by him being the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed. Not a hint does he breathe of its containing Bruno's Commentary.

Dr. Swainson, having adopted a wrong premiss, is necessarily led to an unsound conclusion. "So much," he continues, "for supposed dates of MSS.! A manuscript, which 'seems to have been written in the ninth or tenth century,' contains an exposition of the Athanasian Creed, which is assigned by all the learned to a Bishop of Wurtzburg, who lived in the eleventh century." Certainly it would be an absurdity to suppose that the manuscript could have been written before the time of Bruno, were it the fact that it contains a copy of his Commentary, unless, indeed, such copy were a later addition. But this fact has been shown to exist only in Dr. Swainson's imagination; so that the ground of his argument slips from beneath him.

It only remains to be added concerning this manuscript, that, considering that the writing is Gallican, in all probability it was originally in the library of the Abbey of Fleury, on the Loire; the collection de-

scribed as Alexandrina's or Reginensis, in the Vatican, to which it now belongs, consisting mainly of the manuscripts collected by Christina Alexandra, Queen of the Swedes, which found their way into the Vatican in the year 1690, and comprised many of the former treasures of that celebrated Abbey.

The Commentary thus edited by Mai and Pinius is none other than the Oratorian Commentary, with a preface prefixed to it, which was probably omitted intentionally by the copyist of the Troyes MS. for the sake of brevity, as not being a portion strictly speaking of the exposition. The various readings supplied by the text of the Commentary, as printed by Mai, I have given in the notes in Appendix B. The preface published by him and by Pinius, also from the Vatican MS., will be found in Appendix D. It is very deserving of notice. It is apparently addressed to a bishop, who had directed the writer, for the benefit of the presbyters "of our diocese," who were sadly in want of books, being scarcely able to provide themselves with those that were requisite for the celebration of the Sacraments and sacred offices, to expound, in sentences of the holy Fathers, the little work of the Faith, which was commonly recited in churches, and more than any other similar works, made use of by "our presbyters," as the subject of meditation. This little work (he is plainly speaking of the Athanasian Creed), simple as it was, supplemented by the words of divines, was very helpful in spreading the knowledge of the Faith; and the bishop was desirous to enforce upon his clergy the

study of the exposition, thus drawn from the Fathers, with the view of preventing that greatest of all evils, clerical ignorance. It is there stated that the Creed was assigned by ancient tradition to the authorship of St. Athanasius; and that it was composed, as a bulwark of the Faith, to protect the less-instructed Catholics against the perils of Arianism. There can be no reason to doubt that this preface was the work of the compiler of the Commentary, and was originally annexed by him to it, although it is entirely omitted from the Troyes manuscript. Possibly it was the design of the writer or writers of that codex to give the expository portion only of the Commentary. We shall find shortly that the latter part, beginning with the words, "Traditur quod," appears at the commencement of another Commentary which was clearly drawn largely from this.

What is peculiarly deserving of notice is the description here given of the Oratorian Commentary. It is described as an exposition of the Quicunque, gathered from the Fathers, compiled as a manual of religious instruction for the use of the clergy of a particular diocese, its study being enjoined, if not enforced, upon them by the bishop.

The Troyes Library contains a third Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, in two copies—one in a MS. of the tenth century, numbered 1979; the other in a MS. of the twelfth, numbered 1532.[1] The former of these volumes was comprised in the

[1] 'Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques,' tom. xi. pp. 644, 645, and 810, 811.

valuable collection of the Bouhier family at Dijon, the whole of which was transferred to the Troyes Library in the early part of last century, as we learn from a note on the fly-leaf—"Codex MS. Bibliothecæ Buherianæ, F. 14, MDCCXXI." It contains also works of Alcuin, Rhabanus Maurus, and St. Augustine. The latter belonged formerly, like No. 804, to the Oratorian College at Troyes; among its contents are Gregory's 'Liber Pastoralis;' works of Prosper and St. Augustine; a Commentary on the Apostles' Creed, commencing, "Quando beatum legimus Paulum," etc.; 'Orosii Questiones et Responsiones Augustini' —a work printed in the appendix to St. Augustine's works; and the Creed of St. Jerome, so called. Both of these MSS. are neatly and well written, and in good condition. It is very remarkable that in the earliest of the two, No. 1979, this Commentary is expressly attributed by the title to St. Augustine: "Incipit expositio Sancti Augustini Fidei Sancti Athanasii Episcopi in Veneratione Sanctissime Trinitatis individuaeque unitatis omnipotentissimi universitatis Dei." And there appears the following note upon the subject by Bouhier, in his own handwriting:—"Symbolum fidei istud sub Athanasii nomine editum, etc. . . . Sed cujus est ista in hoc symbolum expositio sub Augustini larva publicata? Ego facile crediderim illam esse ipsius Vigilii; nam sub Augustini nomine latere amavit. Quod an verum sit, aliis doctioribus et ociosioribus dispiciendum relinquo." In the other MS., No. 1532, it is not assigned to any author, the heading being: "Incipit

Expositio fidei catholice Sancti Athanasii Episcopi." In the winter of 1875–76, a copy of this same Commentary, which had previously escaped notice, was found in a manuscript in the British Museum—No. 24,902 of the additional MSS. This manuscript is stated, in a note in French on the fly-leaf, to have belonged formerly to Baron Warenghien, at the sale of whose books, in July, 1855, it was purchased by M. Claudin, and by the latter it was sold very shortly after to the writer of the memorandum, who has not left a record of his name. It was bought for the British Museum of Messrs. Sotheby, in 1862. Mr. Thompson, now the Keeper of Manuscripts in our National Library, told me that I might set down A.D. 1000 as its date; he assigns it to the early part of the eleventh century, but thinks it might belong to the tenth; and he believes it to have been written in France. The former owner of the MS., and writer of the above-mentioned memorandum, is of a similar opinion in regard to the date, for he says that "the writing appears to be of the eleventh, if not the tenth, century." The text of this Commentary, which I shall call, by way of distinction, the "Bouhier Commentary," from the name of the former owner of the earliest MS. in which it appears, I have printed in Appendix C, from Troyes, No. 1979, with the various readings from Troyes, No. 1532, and British Museum Addit. No. 24,902. To the best of my knowledge, it has never before been printed.

The Bouhier Commentary, like the Oratorian, quotes the whole of the Quicunque vult, verse by verse

successively, adding a comment upon each. These two Commentaries contain much common matter, but are still distinct documents, for not only do they differ from one another in the arrangement of the matter which belongs to both, but each possesses much that is peculiar to itself and not to be found in the other. At the same time, the connection between them is such as to make it clear, either that they were both, to a great extent, drawn from one common source, or that one was drawn from the other. A careful comparison of the two documents has led me to the conclusion that the Bouhier Commentary was drawn from the Oratorian, inasmuch as the common matter almost invariably appears in the former in a condensed and abbreviated form. To adduce all the pairs of cognate passages upon which this conclusion is founded, would be needless and wearisome. Three instances will suffice for the illustration of the process which has been adopted. In all these instances, I have succeeded in tracing the original source—in the two last, I may say, of the whole; in the first, of the greater part. I will place first in order the source, then the passages of the Oratorian and the Bouhier Commentaries, which have been derived from it, so that they may be conveniently compared. The words of the Oratorian which are omitted by the Bouhier Commentary, are printed in italics.

ST. AUGUSTINE.

"Sic est Deus per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit qualitas mundi, sed substantia creatrix mundi, sine

labore regens, et sine onere continens mundum. Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusa, ita ut in dimidio mundi corpore sit dimidius, et in alio dimidio dimidius, atque ita per totum totus: sed in solo cælo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in cælo et in terra totus, et nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus."[1]

ORATORIAN.

"Sic replet mundum, ut ipse contineat mundum, non contineatur a mundo. . . . *Sic est per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit qualitas mundi, sed substantia creatrix mundi,* sine labore regens, sine onere continens *mundum.* Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusus, *non ut in dimidia mundi parte sit dimidius, et in alia dimidia dimidius, atque ita per totum totus, non sic,* sed in solo celo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in parte totus, et per cuncta totus; et nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus."

BOUHIER.

"Sic replet mundum, ut ipse contineat mundum, non contineatur a mundo, sine labore regens, sine onere continens omnia. Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusus; sed in solo celo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in parte totus, et per cuncta totus; in nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus."

That there is a connection between these three passages is obvious from their verbal coincidence. Either the two last must have been drawn directly and

[1] 'Liber de Præsentia Dei,' seu epis. clxxxvii. cap. iv. sect. 14.

immediately from the first: or the second must have been drawn directly from the third, and mediately from the first; or the third must have been drawn directly from the second, and through that from the first. Which of these hypotheses is right? If the Oratorian passage is compared with the other two, it is clear that it was drawn from St. Augustine, not from the Bouhier, because it contains much which is in the former but not in the latter. And if the Bouhier passage is compared with the other two, it must be clear that it was directly from the Oratorian, not from St. Augustine, because, where the former has altered the language of the latter, it adopts the alteration: "et in parte totus, et per cuncta totus;" and it contains nothing which is not in the former as well as the latter.

In the other two examples, which are fuller, the same process may be clearly traced, which we have noticed in the first and simpler one; so that there cannot be a doubt that, as regards the common matter in these two Commentaries, the Bouhier drew from the Oratorian, and not the reverse. The first example is particularly remarkable, as presenting a variety of passages, from which the Oratorian was constructed.

ST. AUGUSTINE.

"Quod si et Pater, qui genuit sapientiam, ex eâ fit sapiens, neque hoc est illi esse quod sapere, qualitas ejus est Filius, non proles ejus, et non ibi erit jam summa simplicitas. Sed absit, ut ita sit. . . . Ergo et Pater ipse sapientia est, et ita dicitur Filius sapien-

tia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris; id est, ut, quemadmodum lumen de lumine, et utrumque unum lumen, sic intelligatur sapientia de sapientia, et utrumque una sapientia." [1]

"Pater igitur et Filius simul una essentia, et una magnitudo, et una veritas, et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum, quia non simul ambo unus Filius. Sicut enim Filius ad Patrem refertur, non ad se ipsum dicitur; ita et Verbum ad eum, cujus Verbum est, refertur, cum dicitur Verbum. . . . Verbum enim relative, sapientia essentialiter intelligitur." [2]

"Sapientia ergo Filius de sapientia Patre, sicut lumen de lumine, et Deus de Deo; ut et singulus Pater lumen, et singulus Filius lumen, et singulus Pater Deus, et singulus Filius Deus; ergo et singulus Pater sapientia, et singulus Filius sapientia. Et sicut utrumque unum lumen et unus Deus, sic utrumque una sapientia. Sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo et justitia, etc." [3]

"Propterea igitur cum pronuntiatur in Scripturis aut enarratur aliquid de sapientia, sive dicente ipsa sive cum de illa dicitur, Filius nobis potissimum insinuatur." [4]

"Et ideo sapientia Pater, sapientia Filius, sapientia Spiritus Sanctus; et simul non tres sapientiæ, sed una sapientia." [5]

[1] St. Augustine, "De Trinitate," lib. vii. cap. i.
[2] Ibid. lib. vii. cap. ii.
[3] Ibid. lib. vii. cap. iii. 4.
[4] Ibid. lib. vii. cap. iii. 5.
[5] Ibid. lib. vii. cap. iii. 6.

ORATORIAN.

"*Nam illa nomina* substantialia, *hoc est, Deus, Dominus, aeternus, et cetera, de quibus jam satis Scriptum est,* in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam, sed ad se ipsam. Nam etsi Apostolus dicit Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, tamen non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est; *Verbum autem aut imago aut Filius relativum. Quod si Pater, qui genuit sapientiam, ex eâ fit sapiens, neque hoc est illi esse, quod sapere; qualitas ejus erit Filius, non proles ejus, et non ibi erit jam summa simplicitas: sed absit, ut ita sit. Ergo et Pater ipse sapientia est,* et ita dicitur Filius sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris; id est, ut, quemadmodum lumen de lumine, et utrumque lumen unum, sic intelligatur sapientia de sapientia, et utrumque una sapientia. Pater igitur et Filius simul una essentia, et una magnitudo, et una virtus, et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum, quia non simul ambo unus Filius. *Verbum enim relative, sapientia essentialiter intelligitur. Sapientia ergo Filius de sapientia Patre, sicut lumen de lumine, et Deus de Deo; ut et singulus Pater lumen, et singulus Filius lumen, et singulus Pater Deus, et singulus Filius Deus; ergo et singulus Pater sapientia, et singulus Filius sapientia. Sicut utrumque simul unum lumen et unus Deus, sic utrumque una sapientia.* Sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo; de qua, cum aliquid in Scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis

insinuatur. Spiritus quoque Sanctus sapientia; et simul non tres sapientiæ, sed una sapientia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus."

BOUHIER.

"Substantialia, in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam, sed ad se ipsam. Relativa vero semper, ut dictum est, ad invicem referuntur. Dicitur Filius ab Apostolo Dei virtus et Dei sapientia. Sed non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est. Et ita dicitur Filius sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris; id est, ut, quemadmodum lumen de lumine, et utrumque unum lumen, sic intelligatur sapientia de sapientia et utrumque una sapientia. Pater igitur et Filius simul una essentia, et una magnitudo, et una virtus, et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum, quia non simul ambo unus Filius. Sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo; de qua cum aliquid in Scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis insinuatur. Spiritus quoque Sanctus sapientia; et simul non tres sapientiæ, sed una sapientia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus."

The other example is precisely parallel, and scarcely less remarkable:—

DEFINITIO FIDEI APUD CONCILIUM GENERALE SEXTUM.

"Et duas naturales voluntates in eo, et duas naturales operationes indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse, secundum sanctorum patrum

doctrinam adæque prædicamus; et duas naturales voluntates non contrarias, absit, juxta quod impii asseruerunt hæretici, sed sequentem ejus humanam voluntatem, et non resistentem vel reluctantem, sed potius et subjectam divinæ ejus atque omnipotenti voluntati. . . . Sicut enim ejus caro caro Dei Verbi dicitur et est, ita et naturalis carnis ejus voluntas propria Dei Verbi dicitur et est. . . . Quemadmodum enim sanctissima et immaculata animata ejus caro deificata, non est perempta, sed in proprio sui statu et ratione permansit; ita et humana ejus voluntas deificata, non est perempta, salvata est autem magis secundum deiloquum Gregorium dicentem: Nam illius velle, quod in Salvatore intelligitur, non est contrarium Deo deificatum totum."[1]

ORATORIAN.

"In uno etiam Christo sicut duas credimus naturas, ita *credimus* duas *Christi* naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes *indivise, inconvertibiliter*, inseparabiliter, inconfuse; et has duas voluntates non contrarias, sed *sequentem* humanam ejus voluntatem *et non resistentem vel reluctantem, sed* potius subjectam divinæ ejus atque omnipotenti voluntati. *Sicut enim ejus caro Dei Verbum dicitur et est, ita et naturalis carnis ejus voluntas propria Dei Verbi dicitur et est. Quemadmodum enim sanctissima atque immaculata animata ejus caro deificata est, non est perempta, sed in proprio sui statu et ratione permansit; ita et humana*

[1] 'Interpretatio vetus Latina. Routh Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula,' tom. ii. pp. 241, 242.

ejus voluntas deificata est. Nam salvator sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit ut salvaret, ideo et humanam voluntatem *vel operationem* suscipiendo salvavit."

BOUHIER.

"In quo sicut duas credimus naturas, ita duas naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes inseparabiliter, inconfuse; et has duas voluntates non contrarias, sed potius humanam ejus voluntatem subjectam divinæ ejus atque omnipotenti voluntati. Nam salvator sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit ut salvaret, ita et humanam voluntatem suscipiendo salvavit."

In both these instances the same phenomena are observable, the same process has been followed. First, it is evident that the Oratorian could not have been drawn from the Bouhier Commentary, but was drawn directly from the original source. Then the Bouhier, for the most part, condenses the Oratorian, but where the Oratorian has recast the original, as in the sentence beginning, "Spiritus quoque Sanctus," of the first example, or has constructed a new sentence out of two separate ones of the original, as in that beginning, "Sed Filius factus," or where it has expressed the sense of the original in its own language, as in the sentence beginning, "Nam salvator," in the second example, there it is literally followed, and its language adopted by the Bouhier. This is a proof that the Bouhier Commentary was drawn directly from the Oratorian.

Sometimes, but rarely, the Bouhier expands the Oratorian, as in the following instance:—

ORATORIAN.

"Oportunum namque mihi videtur paucis admomendum, quæ illa sit fides quæ salvat, quæ in æternum perire non sinit. Nempe non est illa qua demones credunt et contremescunt, non tamen diligunt aut sperant quod credunt; sed illa potius est, quæ per dilectionem operatur."

BOUHIER.

"Fides, quæ *credentem* salvat et in æternum perire non sinit, non est illa *de qua Jacob Apostoluo dicit:* Et demones credunt et contremescunt; *et iterum: Fides sine operibus mortua est.* Sed illa potius est, quæ *juxta Apostolum Paulum* per dilectionem operatur."

It is obvious that the words here added by the Bouhier Commentary, which are printed in italics, suggest nothing inconsistent with the conclusion already arrived at, viz., that it drew from the Oratorian. They are of an explanatory or supplementary nature, and might readily have occurred to the writer of the former work in adapting to his purpose the materials supplied by the latter.

And if the Bouhier exposition drew some of its materials from the Oratorian, the former must obviously be the later work of the two, the latter the earlier.

With regard to the matter peculiar to the Bouhier, I have not been able to trace it all to earlier writings;

but in some passages I have identified the language of St. Augustine.

The preface to this Commentary is clearly the latter part of the preface which is annexed to the Oratorian exposition in the Roman manuscript, and which I have printed from Mai's 'Collectio Nova,' in Appendix, Note D.

In Appendix, Note E, is printed a fourth ancient Commentary, copied by me from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, Latin, 1012. The manuscript is assigned by the old printed catalogue of 1744 to the ninth century, and on the fly-leaf there is a note: "Scriptus nono sæculo;" but after a list of the contents, which also appears on the fly-leaf, another note has been added: "Omnia sub fine noni sæculi." And the present authorities of the Manuscript Department at Paris consider this date rather too early; in their opinion the manuscript was written at the beginning of the following century. It belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Martial, at Limoges. Among the other contents are an exposition of the ceremonies of Baptism, an instruction upon the Sacraments, expositions of the Mass and of the Apostles' Creed, sermons, and homilies.

The Commentary on the Athanasian Creed is introduced by the words, "Incipit fides chatolica cum exposicione." It quotes, like the two last-mentioned Commentaries, verse by verse of the Creed in succession; and the whole of the Creed is thus quoted, with the exception of the words, "Neque substantiam separantes," and part of the

27th verse. In other respects, it is very different from the three Commentaries previously noticed, and has no affinity with any of them. It is of a more simple and elementary character; less full and elaborate. It contains a passage from Gregory the Great, and a quotation from the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' commonly ascribed to Gennadius, a work which was held in high esteem in the early Middle Ages, so much so, that it is sometimes attributed by manuscripts of that epoch to the Fathers of the Nicene Council. The text of this Commentary is remarkable for the frequent barbarisms of its Latinity, to which I have drawn attention in the Notes. Sometimes words are not spaced; and there are numerous instances of the omission of letters at the beginning or end of words. The clerical errors, which are not infrequent and very obvious, are evidences, not only of the carelessness of the scribe, but of the fact that he was copying from an older document. But the exposition itself is curious, as well as the text of this particular copy—the only one known, so far as I am aware. I will call this the "Paris Commentary," for convenience sake. It is now printed, I believe, for the first time.

In editing these documents, conceiving it to be my business not to make a new text, but to reproduce as nearly as possible that of the MSS. from which I copied, I have abstained from all alterations, even as regards the spelling of words, and manifest errors of the copyists. It may be said that, to be consistent, I ought to have given the punctuation of the MSS.

and the contractions. But this would have rendered the text unintelligible to persons who have no knowledge of ancient manuscripts; it would have been, in fact, impossible. It is almost needless to add that, upon this principle, I have carefully retained the peculiarities of phraseology and barbarisms, so clearly characteristic of the age in which the MSS. were written, if not of that in which the Commentaries were composed.

It is now necessary to consider what are the respective epochs when these Commentaries were composed. And this is a point of deep interest in reference to the antiquity of the Creed of St. Athanasius.

We have seen that, in regard to two of the Commentaries, the only manuscript copies extant belong to the tenth century; and in regard to the other two, the earliest copies are of the same age. As these MSS. in no case supply autograph, or original, copies of the Commentaries, it is obvious that the Commentaries must have been composed at a somewhat earlier, and may have been at a much earlier, period. To assume that these works are not older than the tenth century, because the earliest MSS. which we have of them are not older, would be absurd. No one in his senses would think of arguing that the poems of Virgil, or the books of the New Testament, could not have been written before the fourth century of the Christian era, because there are no copies of those works at present known to us which can be assigned to an earlier date. Owing to

the immense loss and destruction of ancient manuscripts which have occurred, the date of a particular manuscript is no evidence of the date of any work of which it gives a copy; it merely indicates the latest period at which that work might have been composed. The rare case of autographs or original copies is clearly exceptional.

The approximate determination of the dates of these works must rest upon internal evidence. Of their authorship nothing is known; nor do there appear to be any data for ascertaining it. Of course, it is without real grounds that Troyes, No. 1979, assigns the Bouhier Commentary to St. Augustine.

The date of the Paris Commentary may be most conveniently considered first, that exposition being entirely distinct from the other three. The only manuscript copy which is known of this work belonging to the beginning of the tenth century, and this copy being evidently a transcript from an earlier manuscript, we may conclude that the work was not composed later than the end of the preceding century. On the other hand, it could not have been composed before the seventh century, for it includes in its text a passage from the writings of Gregory the Great, who died A.D. 604. The quotation from the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' commonly ascribed to Gennadius, who flourished at the close of the fifth century, is no proof of a later date. For, whether or not that document is rightly so ascribed, there can be little doubt of its being older than the time of Gregory. In two Paris MSS. of the ninth century that I have

seen, and in one of the tenth, it is attributed to the Nicene Council, and in another of the ninth century, to St. Augustine—a proof that at that period it was regarded not only as an authoritative document, but one of considerable antiquity. Thus the commencement of the seventh century and the conclusion of the ninth are the limits between which the date of the Paris Commentary may be placed. Nor are we able, I conceive, to arrive with any degree of probability at a closer approximate date; for, though the absence of any allusion to the Prædestinarian, or Adoptionist, or Monothelete controversies would seem to carry it up to the earliest period admissible, this kind of evidence can scarcely be applied with safety in regard to a document which is far from being a full or exact exposition of dogma and doctrine. The remarkable corruptions of the Latinity cannot be adduced in evidence upon the point, for this reason, if no other, that it is impossible to say how far they are attributable to the author of the work, and how far to the copyist of the manuscript.

We have fuller light to guide us to the dates of the Oratorian and Bouhier Commentaries, which may be considered simultaneously, in consequence of the close connection between the two documents. Of both it has been noticed that more than one MS. copy are known, and in each case the earliest MS. belongs to the tenth century; and as in neither case does the earliest extant MS. appear to have been the autograph, or original, copy, so it might be safely asserted, upon the bare evidence of the date of the

MSS., that neither work was drawn up later than the end of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth, century. But here some external evidence is supplied by the fact that the Bouhier Commentary is expressly attributed in Troyes, No. 1979, to St. Augustine. Whatever may have been the cause of this—whether it arose from the Commentary being so deeply impregnated with the teaching of the great Western Father, or from its being drawn in some degree from his writings, or from its having been mixed up with his works—the fact disposes us to regard it as the product of the eighth century, not later. It would not have been attributed to St. Augustine in the tenth century, unless it had then possessed the character of antiquity. And the Bouhier has been shown to be the later of the two Commentaries. The conclusion to which we are thus directed is confirmed by internal evidence. 'It has been seen that both documents contain language evidently borrowed from the Definition of the Sixth Œcumenical Council, which was terminated in September, A.D. 681. And this circumstance, while it is a conclusive proof that neither of them existed prior to that date, is also a probable proof, to say the least, that neither of them originated very much later; that they were both composed before the Monothelete controversy—the subject of the Definition—had ceased to occupy the attention of theologians. The eighth century was not far advanced when that controversy, after agitating the Church for nearly a century, became extinct, the subject of image-worship usurping its place in the arena of religious discussion and dispute.

It was never afterwards revived; nor did it leave, like the Eutychian and Nestorian controversies, a permanent and formal impression upon theology. The conclusions of the Sixth Council were tacitly accepted, not continually reasserted, like those of the earlier General Councils. The two wills, divine and human, have not been dwelt upon with the same explicitness as the two natures, the latter being assumed to imply the former. Thus, in the Professions of Faith of the Popes, contained in the 'Liber Diurnus,' which were certainly drawn up within forty years of the Sixth Council, we find express assertions of the two wills and operations in our Blessed Lord;[1] but in dogmatic treatises of a century later, we shall search for similar assertions in vain. For instance, in the treatise of Alcuin, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' which has been already noticed as bearing much resemblance to the Oratorian Commentary, for it deals with the same subjects, and is in like manner drawn from earlier works, not a single explicit assertion of the two wills, not a single repudiation of Monotheletism is to be found, though he distinctly maintains the two natures in the Unity of our Lord's Person. Nor does such a thing appear in any of his works; and he was a copious writer on dogmatic theology. In the writings of Paulinus, the friend and contemporary of Alcuin, there is one only mention of the two wills; and that is introduced incidentally for the purpose of guarding against the imputation of Monotheletism, which his language might have furnished occasion for. The

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cv. pp. 52–58.

Profession of Faith adopted by the Council of Friuli, which was held under his presidency, A.D. 796, and enjoined by it to be learnt by heart by the clergy, is entirely silent upon the subject.[1] Alcuin and Paulinus were the leading theologians in the time of Charlemagne, and both died in the year 804. A further evidence of the date of these two Commentaries is supplied by the absence of the terminology peculiar to the controversies, which emerged in the ninth, and in the latter part of the eighth, centuries. Had they been composed in the middle of the ninth century, when France was distracted by the Prædestinarian controversy, the writers would scarcely have omitted, in treating of the final reward of the righteous and the final punishment of the wicked, to have introduced some of the terms generally used at the time on the one side or the other respecting these subjects. There was a fair call and opportunity for the use of such language. But nothing of the kind appears in either Commentary. Similarly, had they been composed in the early part of the ninth century, or towards the close of the eighth, during the agitation caused in Western Christendom by the errors of Adoptionism, they would naturally have adopted some of the critical terms by which the true and Catholic doctrine was discriminated from the heresy of the age. In treating of the Unity of our Blessed Lord's Person, they would have gone on to describe Him as the proper, not the adoptive, Son of God, or the like. But such terms are conspicuous by their absence.

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xcix. pp. 293–95.

The force of this argument may be best illustrated from two works, which were severally written during these controversies, but not with special reference to them. In the 'Explanatio in Ferculum Salomonis' of Hincmar, the celebrated Archbishop of Rheims, the following passage occurs:—"*Ascendit* quoque in cœlum, et *sedet ad dexteram Patris*, id est, in gloria paternæ majestatis: *inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines* resurgent *cum corporibus suis* et reddent *de factis propriis rationem. Et qui*, gratia Dei et subsequente eamdem gratiam libers arbitrio, in fide recta et operibus bonis perseveraverint, præsciti et prædestinati a Deo in gloriam, *ibunt in vitam æternam* electis, id est, de massa perditionis totius humani generis facta in Adam ipso peccante, quoniam et Eva ipsa est Adam, gratia lectis, a Deo paratam. . . . Et qui non a Deo ad interitum prædestinati, sed ab eo ex retributione justitiæ in massa perditionis relicti, in infidelitate vel malis operibus perseveraverint, ibunt *in ignem æternum*, etc."[1] This passage is peculiarly apposite on account of its obvious relation with the Athanasian Creed, the words of which are printed in italics. It is apparent that the writer had the Creed before him, or was following it in his mind; and it is very observable how, from the statement of the Creed respecting the final reward of the good and the final punishment of the wicked, he took occasion to give full expression to his opinion on the subject of Prædestination in the controversial language of the day;

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cxxv. p. 824.

how he has substituted this for the wisely simple language of the Creed: "qui bona egerunt," "qui vero mala." Let this be contrasted with the following note on the same passage of the Creed in the Oratorian Commentary, which is found also, with trifling variation, in the Bouhier:—"Multi egerunt mala, qui non ibunt in ignem æternum, quia ante mortem suam veram penitudinem de peccatis suis gesserunt. Sed hic de illis dicitur, qui mala egerunt et in malis perseveraverunt et non emendaverunt." The inference is inevitable. The other work, which may be adduced in illustration of this point is Alcuin, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis.' This must have been written during the Adoptionist controversy, and it is no less remarkable for a distinct repudiation of that heresy,[1] than for its perfect silence in regard to Monotheletism. On the other hand, these two Commentaries are explicit with reference to the latter subject, and silent with reference to the former. From these premisses, viz., that the later of these two Commentaries was attributed in the tenth century to St. Augustine, that both employ language drawn from the Definition of the Sixth General Council, and that neither of them makes use of the terminology elicited by the controversies which were rife in the ninth century, and in the latter part of the eighth, the conclusion necessarily follows that they were composed not long after the Sixth Council, and before the Monothelete controversy had completely died out. The combined weight of the several arguments constrains to this result. I

[1] Lib. iii. cap. 9.

consider, therefore, that the Oratorian Commentary was drawn up at the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, the Bouhier in the early part of the eighth. They may have existed previously in a more brief and germinal form, though we have no evidence of such a thing; but they cannot have existed earlier as we now have them. And they contain nothing inconsistent with this date. None of the sources from which they were drawn can be proved to be later. To argue that the explicit assertions of the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son point to a later date, would be absurd, when similar assertions appear in professions of Faith, and in the works of Fathers, prior to this, especially of the great Western Doctor, of whom the writers of these Commentaries were evidently followers. The ancient Latin translation of the Definition of the Sixth Council, the language of which they have borrowed, may be the same which was sent by the Pope to the Spanish Bishops in the year 682, with the request that they would subscribe it. It arrived too late for acceptance by the Council of that year, but in a Council held in the year following, it was accepted.

The Troyes Commentary appears, from internal evidence, to be a little earlier than the Oratorian and Bouhier Commentaries. It resembles them both in the entire omission of the terminology of the Prædestinarian and Adoptionist controversies, and in the distinct employment of that in use when Monotheletism was the great subject of discussion in the

Church. It emphatically asserts the existence of the two wills and two operations in the Person of our Blessed Lord, and even dwells more fully upon the subject than either of those Commentaries; but it does not join them in adopting the language of the Definition of the Sixth Council. The obvious conclusion is that it was composed whilst the Monothelete controversy was raging, but before the Sixth Council; otherwise, like the other Commentaries, it would have repudiated Monotheletism in the terms sanctioned by that Council. The date, therefore, may with good reason be placed between the Council of Lateran, held under Pope Martin, A.D. 649 (which condemned Monotheletism, and the proceedings of which were generally published and accepted in the West), and A.D. 680, in which year the Sixth General Council commenced its sessions.

We may now proceed to consider these documents as supplying fresh and additional proof of the antiquity of the Creed of St. Athanasius. The paucity of early comments on the Creed has been the subject of remark on the part of those who have attempted to disprove its antiquity; and not unnaturally or unreasonably. They pointed to the great number of ancient expositions of the Apostles' Creed, and they argued that, had the Quicunque been known, accepted, recited in the services of the Church, and held in esteem in the early Middle Ages as a document of authority expressing the Faith of Christendom on the great doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, it would have been made in like manner the subject

of learned exposition. The objection was one of some weight. No comment could be produced, at least none was produced by Waterland, none was generally known in England, of an earlier date than the eleventh century, with the exception of that commonly attributed to Venantius Fortunatus, and assigned to the close of the sixth century; and the hiatus between this and Bruno's Commentary in the eleventh century was remarkable, if not perplexing. This difficulty is removed by the production of these four Commentaries, none of which can be later than the ninth century. I have shown that there are grounds for believing that in the seventh century, including of course Fortunatus's exposition, there were extant at least two Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, in the eighth at least four. I say "at least," because it is very possible that still more may have been extant; others may have perished, or may still remain undiscovered in ancient manuscripts. Hence we have obviously new and additional proof of the existence of the Creed as a whole before the time of Charlemagne, and of the fallacy, both of Mr. Ffoulkes's theory, which maintains it to have been the composition of Paulinus, published as the work of Athanasius by Charlemagne in the year 802, and of Dr. Swainson's, which represents it as formed by a gradual process of growth in the eighth and ninth centuries, but not existing in its present complete state before A.D. 865 or thereabouts: for the Bouhier and Oratorian Commentaries quote the whole of the Creed, word for word, as it now exists, including, of course, the so-called

Damnatory Clauses. But this is not all. From the fact that the Creed was in the seventh century the text-book of at least two expositions, and those too of a somewhat elaborate nature, it follows that even at that early period it was a well-known, widely received, and approved document, and consequently it must have been the product of an earlier age. Commentaries are not written upon new and unknown and unappreciated works, but upon those which have received the sanction of time and use and of general esteem and of the authority of the Church.

Again, the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed receives confirmation from these documents on account of the fresh evidence which they afford of the antiquity of the earliest Commentary on the Creed, that attributed to Venantius Fortunatus. And this is a point of some importance, because it must be admitted that the evidence of the authorship of Fortunatus is not conclusive. These Commentaries may be adduced to establish the antiquity of that of Fortunatus, so-called, in two ways. First, the comparison of the Troyes Commentary with that of Fortunatus clearly shows that the former was constructed upon the basis of the latter, or at any rate that the author of the former was well acquainted with the latter. The latter must, therefore, be the earlier document of the two, and could not have been written later than the early part of the seventh century, to the middle of which the Troyes Commentary belongs. Secondly, the Commentary of Fortunatus does not contain the slightest reference to Monotheletism, nor any of the terminology

peculiar to that controversy. From this circumstance, on a former occasion, I argued that it was written before the rise of the Monothelete controversy, *i.e.* before the year 630, and very possibly in the sixth century.[1] At that time I had no idea of the existence of the Commentaries, viz., the Troyes, Oratorian, and the Bouhier, which I have since found in the Troyes Library. Considering the distinct utterances found in each of these documents on the subject of Monotheletism, especially in the Troyes Commentary, which was founded on that of Fortunatus, I think I may assert without egotism that the argument has received a remarkable confirmation. The inference from the silence of the last-mentioned Commentary, as contrasted with the explicit and emphatic statements of the other three, on the subject of Monotheletism, is unavoidable.

It is especially necessary to draw attention to the testimony to the antiquity of the Quicunque contained in the preface to the Oratorian Commentary (Appendix C and D): "Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandriæ ecclesiæ antistite sit editum; ita namque semper eum vidi prætitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus." And this has been transferred to the Bouhier Commentary, with a little alteration: "Sicut etiam in veteribus codicibus invenitur prætitulatum." Thus we learn that in the eighth century, manuscripts, then deemed ancient, were extant, ascribing the Creed to St. Athanasius. And as these

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 279–281.

ancient manuscripts could scarcely have been very much less than two hundred years old at the time, we are led to believe that in the sixth century the Creed was attributed to St. Athanasius. And the mere fact of its being then attributed to him, whether it was so attributed rightly or wrongly, establishes for it a pre-existence of some duration. It does not prove it to have been the work of St. Athanasius, but it does prove that it possessed even then the character of antiquity, and was the work of a previous age.

The Oratorian Commentary appears to have been extensively known and used in the Middle Ages. Some evidence of this I have found in a manuscript of the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford, written, as the Rev. W. D. Macray informs me, by an Italian scribe.[1] This volume contains the Psalter, followed by the usual Canticles from the Old Testament, the Quicunque, the Benedicite, and several hymns. It is imperfect, as the leaves are wanting which contained the five last Psalms, probably the apocryphal 151st Psalm, the three first Old Testament Canticles, viz., the song of Isaiah, "Confitebor tibi," etc., that of Hezekiah, and that of Hannah, and part of the song of Moses, beginning, "Cantemus Domino." The last Psalm which appears is the 145th: this is on the verso side of a leaf, and the commencing words on the succeeding page, marked XXVIII. in pencil, are, "Comprehendam, dividam spolia," etc., which are in the last-named Canticle. The Athanasian Creed fol-

[1] Canonici Bibl. 30.

lows immediately after the song of Moses, "Audite celi." It is noticeable that the New Testament Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed are omitted, and this cannot be from the leaves being lost which contained them, for the Quicunque commences in the middle of a page, immediately after the conclusion of the "Audite celi." The Athanasian Creed is entitled, "Fides catholica Athanasii episcopi." It is written, like the Psalter and the Canticles, in a narrow column, occupying the centre of each page, with marginal notes on either side. It has also some interlinear notes, which, with one exception, are from Bruno's Commentary on the Quicunque. The first note in the right margin is from Bruno; it begins, "Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium posuit." At the top of the same page on the left the following appears:—"Hec ratio fidei catholice traditur et in veteribus codicibus a beato Athanasio Alexandrino conscripta; et puto quod idcirco tam plano et hec (*sic*) sermone tradita fuit, ut omnibus catholicis, et minus eruditis, tutamen defensionis prestaret adversus illam tempestatem, quam ventus contrarius, hoc est diabolus, concitavit per arrium; quam tempestatem qui fugere desiderat, hanc fidei veritatem integre et inviolabiliter teneat. Ita enim incipitur ipsum opusculum dicens: Quicunque vult salvus esse quam nisi quisque integram. Quod dicitur in capite horum versuum, hoc repetitur in fine; nam hoc est in eternum perire, quod salvum non esse, quod non perire (*sic*). Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servandam admonet fidem, id facit quia

nichil de ea est" ("auferendum" has been omitted, obviously by inadvertence) "nichilque mutandum, sicut faciunt hæretici sacramenta fidei corrumpendo, propter quod et ab ecclesia repelluntur." This is evidently drawn with some abbreviation and alteration from the Oratorian Commentary and the preface to it, which is found in the Vatican manuscript. The rest of the marginal notes—and they are numerous—with one exception, are either from Bruno [1] or the Oratorian Commentary. The notes from the two Commentaries are not arranged separately—those from Bruno on one side of the page and those from the Oratorian on the other—but they appear promiscuously in both margins. Much is given from the Oratorian Commentary which is not to be found in the Bouhier; whereas nothing, I believe, appears from the latter which is not to be found in the former; so that it was clearly the former of these two kindred documents that was drawn from.

Hampole's Commentary has also drawn its materials largely from the Oratorian. It gives the same notes from the Oratorian which appear in the Oxford Canonici MS. in connection with the first four and the last eleven verses of the Creed; on the intervening

[1] Since writing the above, I have been led to think that the Commentary, which, together with the Oratorian, was the source from which this series of notes or Commentary in the Canonici MS. and also that of Hampole were drawn, was not Bruno's work at all, but was extant before his time—certainly in the tenth century, if not earlier—and was adopted by him into his Psalter, with some alteration and addition. For the grounds of this conclusion, I must refer to my subsequent remarks under the head of 'Bruno's Commentary.'

verses it gives none of the Oratorian comment. On the obvious relation between the notes in this MS. and Hampole's Commentary, I propose to remark by-and-by.

The three MSS. mentioned by Tentzelius, as preserved at Gotha, Basle, and Leipsic, appear to have been documents of the same nature as this Canonici Psalter, and to have contained the same, or at least substantially the same, series of notes on our Creed. One of them, the Leipsic MS., he was informed by Feller, was written in the twelfth century; it had interlinear notes and marginal notes also on either side of the text; the Athanasian Creed was entitled in it, "Fides Anastasii Papæ;" the first note in the right margin commenced, "Hæc ratio Fidei Catholicæ traditur in veteribus codicibus;" that in the left, "Hic beatus Anastasius liberum arbitrium posuit." And he says that the same notes appeared in the Gotha document.[1] A Psalter of the thirteenth century in the library at Turin, which is noticed by Dr. Swainson,[2] seems to contain the same series of notes; so we may conjecture from the first note being the same. Thus this comment or series of notes collected partly from the Oratorian Commentary must have obtained an extensive circulation in the Middle Ages.

I have met with some evidence that the Paris Commentary was known and used in England early

[1] See WATERLAND on the 'Athanasian Creed,' pp. 54, 55, note. Oxford edition, 1870.

[2] The 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 459.

in the Middle Ages. Among the Royal MSS. in the British Museum, press-mark 2 B.V., is an interesting Psalter of the beginning of the tenth century, which, from the character of the writing and from the fact of its containing interlinear notes, or glosses, in Saxon, must have been written in England. It once belonged to Archbishop Cranmer, whose autograph appears on top of the first page: "Thomas Cantuariens;" which renders it probable that it had previously been the property of some monastery or church in Kent. In addition to the interlinear notes, or glosses, in Saxon, it has marginal notes in Latin. At the top of the first page of the Psalter—f. 8, recto of the volume—just above the autograph of Cranmer, there is the title, "Psalterium Sancti Jeronimi glossatum." Immediately after the Psalms come the usual Old Testament Canticles, the different days of the week being noted on which they were to be sung; then, in succession, the Benedictus; the Magnificat; the Nunc dimittis ("Nunc dimitti" is the reading here); the Quicunque vult, entitled, "Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis, quem tu concelebrans discutienter intellige;" and the Gloria in excelsis, entitled, "Oratio pura cum laudatione." So that neither the Lord's Prayer, nor the Apostles' Creed, nor the Te Deum, nor the apocryphal 151st Psalm appears in this Psalter. The point which I wish particularly to draw attention to is that many of the Latin marginal notes, or glosses, which are attached to the Athanasian Creed are to be found in the Paris Commentary. Where there is any difference of reading, it is inte-

resting to compare the notes, as they are found in the two MSS. Thus the Paris MS. has "Quia nulla illum potest mensura;" Reg. 2 B.V., "Quia ipsum nullus potest mensurare:" Paris, "In istas tres personas nullus est minor (*sic*) nullus est minor;" Reg. 2 B.V., "In istis tribus personis nulla est major:" Paris, "Alia (*sic*) dicunt qui" (clearly for "quia") "patrem carnalem abuisset; sed non est nobis hoc si" (for "sic") "credendum;" Reg. 2 B.V., "Alii ex judeis dicunt eum carnalem patrem habuisse; sed nobis errori eorum non concedendum:" Paris, "Quid aliut nisi ut eum verum hominem credas secundum umanitatem;" Reg. 2 B.V., "Quid aliud est nisi eum verum hominem credas secundum humanitatem et esse verum Deum secundum Divinitatem:" Paris, "Nondut (*sic*) hoc credas, quae illic humanitas non sit cum Divinitate, sicut illa humanitas et illa Divinitas in unum sibi sunt;" Reg. 2 B.V., "Non ut hoc credas quia illic humanitas non sit cum Divinitate, sed ut illa Divinitas et illa humanitas in unum sibi sunt."

The Rubric, "Incipit de fide," occurs at the end of the second verse. Such a unique circumstance cannot be regarded as of much significance. Dr. Swainson states that in a kindred Psalter, at Salisbury, the same words are introduced before the commencement of the Creed—which would be their proper place.

Prefixed to the Psalter in this volume are several leaves containing lections and devotions for the hours, *inter alia* the hymn, "Ave maris stella!" and at the commencement is a prayer to God, through the inter-

cession of the Blessed Virgin, "In cujus atrio majestati tuę famulamur," imploring succour in a pressing calamity, and then calling upon St. Mary herself for deliverance from the foe who had seized the possessions offered to her Church, and set apart for the sustenance of her servants. In his account of the MS.,[1] Professor Swainson seems to treat of these prefixed leaves as though they had originally belonged to the Psalter. That this was not the case, and that it was the modern binder who united them in one volume with the Psalter, is evident from the difference in the handwriting, and from the name of Cranmer and that of a later owner—"Lumley"—being written on the first page of *the Psalter*, the one at the top, the other at the foot, showing that to have been the initial page at the time when the volume was in their possession. I do not rely on my own judgment in this matter. Mr. Bond, the Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, writes to me: "The pages prefixed to the Psalter are not in the same handwriting as the Psalter, but written later—I should say in the eleventh century." So that the remarkable prayer on the first prefixed page can afford no clue, as Dr. Swainson seems to think it does, to the monastery which originally owned the Psalter.

There is another point in Dr. Swainson's account of this MS. which it may not be irrelevant to notice here, as we are treating of the dates of Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed. The Gloria in excelsis is

[1] 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 374, 375.

followed by an account of the six ages of the world, in the course of which the writer speaks of himself as living in the sixth. "Sexta" (viz., ætas) "quæ nunc agitur" are his words; upon which Dr. Swainson remarks that, "if the estimated date—the tenth century—is correct, the writer must have come to the conclusion that the sixth age had not then expired."[1] This is no doubt intended for a side thrust at Professor Heurtley's argument respecting the date of Fortunatus's Commentary, based upon the words found in that document: "In isto sexto milliario in quo nunc sumus." But the blow is a most ineffectual one. Dr. Swainson has overlooked the distinction between the sixth *age* and the sixth *millenary*, or *milliary*. The former had not expired in the tenth century, nor has it expired in the nineteenth, inasmuch as it always, in the writings of the Fathers, represents the indefinite period reaching from the first advent of our Blessed Lord to His second. But the latter is the sixth definite period of a thousand years from the Creation; and its close in Western writers may be set down as very nearly coincident with the close of the eighth century, the chronology of Eusebius, which reckoned 5198 or 5199 years from the creation of Adam to the birth of Christ, being generally adopted in the West. The distinction appears very clearly in Bede, who, after describing the several periods comprised by the five ages, as they are described in this MS., and indeed universally—the first as lasting from Adam to Noah, the

[1] 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 375

second from Noah to Abraham, the third from Abraham to David, the fourth from David to the Babylonish Captivity, the fifth from the Babylonish Captivity to the coming of the Saviour—goes on thus to speak of the sixth: "Sexta, quæ nunc agitur," the very words of the MS., "nulla generationum vel temporum serie certa, sed ut ætas decrepita, ipsa totius sæculi morte finienda."[1] But the sixth millenary was in his mind a definite period, for he says elsewhere: "Neque enim ullatemus sunt audiendi qui suspicantur hujus sæculi statum sex millibus annorum ab initio fuisse definitum, et, ne contra sententiam Domini venire videantur, addunt incertum mortalibus quoto anno sextæ millenariæ partis venturus sit dies judicii, cujus tamen adventus maxime circa terminum sexti millenarii debeat sperari."[2] Then, after repudiating the hypothesis of a corporal reign of the risen saints with Christ upon earth for a thousand years, which the Millenarians, to whom he alludes in the last-cited passage, expected to follow immediately after the close of the sixth millenary, he thus expressly discriminates between the sixth age and the sixth millenary: "Et quia nulla ætatum quinque præteritarum mille annis acta reperitur, sed aliæ plures annos, aliæ pauciores, habuere, neque ulla alteri similem habuit summam annorum, restat ut pari modo *hæc quoque, quæ nunc agitur*, incertum mor-

[1] 'Liber de Temporibus,' cap. xvi.; MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xc. p. 288.

[2] 'De Temporum Ratione,' cap. lxvii.; MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xc. p. 572.

talibus habeat suæ longitudinis statum, soli autem illi cognitum, qui servos suos accinctis lumbis lucernisque ardentibus præcepit vigilare" (ibidem ubi supra). The same distinction is also apparent in the writings of St. Augustine.

Fortunatus's Commentary.

In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, I have found three copies of this Commentary, all of which have hitherto escaped notice. They are in the Latin MSS. numbered 1008, 2826, and 17,448. The first of these is one of the Colbertine Collection, and is assigned, though not with certainty, to the twelfth century by the old printed catalogue—"sæculo duodecimo exaratus videtur." In the opinion of the present authorities of the MS. department, it belongs to the end of the tenth century. It appears to have been a kind of manual for the use of priests. It begins with the Office of the Mass; then follows a treatise headed, "Qualiter requirendi sunt sacerdotes secundum canonicam institutionem," in which the priest makes a statement of his faith, and gives an exposition of the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed; then on f. 28 comes "De fide catholica," in uncials, followed by "Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia catholica," et cetera,—the commencement of Fortunatus's exposition,—but here it proceeds no further; then an account of the various ecclesiastical orders; then an account of the several Apostles, with reference to their

Festivals, introduced by the title, "Incipit breviarium ex nomine Apostolorum;" then a long dogmatic treatise, introduced by the title, "Incipit opusculum de essentia divinitatis dei et de invisibilitatem adque inmensitatem ejus et suam potentiam;" then the Commentary of Fortunatus, commencing on f. 49 and terminating on f. 94; then an exhortation to priests, commencing, "Fratres karissimi Spiritus Sanctus." The concluding documents are some Penitential Canons, and St. Jerome's or Leidrad's Exposition on Baptism. The two other MSS. containing copies of Fortunatus's Commentary are both set down in the catalogue to the tenth century; but the present authorities assign an earlier date to No. 2826, viz., the end of the preceding century. No one can compare the two volumes without feeling satisfied of the correctness of this opinion. That No. 2826 is the more ancient of the two is, moreover, evident from the fact of its being the original from which No. 17,448 was copied, a statement to which effect appears on the fly-leaf of the latter MS.: "Hic codex summa diligentia moraque, in mendis maxime, religione exscriptus est ad litteram e codice, olim St. Martialis Lemoviensis, nunc Bibliothecæ Regiæ, 2826." This statement I did not verify by a complete examination of the two volumes; but as regards the exposition of Fortunatus, the truth of it is apparent from the small number of variations in the two copies, those few too being such as would naturally arise from inadvertence on the part of the copyist, or subsequent alteration. The contents of No. 17,448, as stated in the catalogue, are,

"Isidorus de mysteriis Christi—de concordia veteris et Novi Testamenti—Juliani prognostica—Dialogus de Trinitate—Alcuinus ad Georgium Hierosol., ad Leonem Papam, ad amicos, ad Karolum imp.—Alcuini epitaphium—Expositio super fide catholica." No. 2826 contains, in addition, Gregory's Sacramentary, Regula Sancti Augustini—seemingly a code of monastic regulations, and the Canons of the Council of Aix, held A.D. 817. The two last documents are written in a different hand from the preceding, and are therefore in all probability subsequent additions.

No. 17,448 belonged formerly to the College de Navarre at Paris, No. 2826 to the Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges. In Appendix F are printed the collations, which I made, of these three copies of Fortunatus.

In the year 1875 two other MS. copies of the same Commentary were found by the Rev. W. D. Macray, Rector of Ducklington, Oxfordshire, in the Library of Bamberg, in Bavaria—one in a MS. of the ninth, or the beginning of the tenth, century, marked A. 11, 16; the other in a MS. of the twelfth century, marked Ed. or B. 11, 16. He has since obtained from Dr. Leitschuk, of the Bamberg Library, a collation of the earlier of these two copies with the text of the Bodleian copy.

Thus there are eight ancient MS. copies at present known of this Commentary. The three previously known, it may not be out of place to mention here, are extant—one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, in the MS. marked "Junius 25," the portion of which

comprising the Commentary is assigned by the learned librarian to the early part of the ninth century; another in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, written in the eleventh; and the third at Florence, belonging to the fourteenth. In the Imperial Library at Vienna there is an imperfect copy, ending with the verse, "Quia sicut singillatim," in a MS. of the ninth century. Probably several other copies are in existence, which, though not yet discovered, future research may bring to light. Considering the immense loss and destruction of ancient manuscripts which have taken place, the fact of at least eight ancient copies of this Commentary being in existence at the present day, two and probably three of these dating so early as the ninth century, to say nothing of the fragment of another of the same date, is a proof of its wide acceptance and use at an early period.

The three Paris copies omit the two passages from Alcuin, drawn originally in the main from Fulgentius, and the two from Isidore of Seville, which appear in the Milan but not in the Oxford copy; and they agree with the latter in not quoting the second verse of the Creed. On the other hand, in other places where these two MSS. differ, the Paris copies frequently present the reading of the Milan copy. The earlier Bamberg copy, the collation of which Mr. Macray has very kindly allowed me to peruse, similarly omits the passages inserted in the Milan codex, and the second verse of the Creed, while in other places it frequently agrees with that MS. and

differs from the Oxford. On the whole, there is great accordance between the Bamberg copy and those at Paris.

These newly discovered copies of the oldest Commentary on the Athanasian Creed are valuable as material aids in ascertaining the true and genuine text. In particular they prove conclusively that the passages from Isidore and Alcuin, which appear in the Milan but not in the Oxford copy, were not inserted in the Commentary by the author or compiler. As long as these two manuscripts were the only two ancient copies which were known of the Commentary, as was the case in Waterland's time, and indeed in our own till very recently, it might have been argued, with some show of reason, from the appearance of the passages in one of them, though the later, that they were part of the original text, and consequently, that the Commentary could not have been composed before the time of Alcuin. And their non-appearance in the older manuscript, though a probable, would not have been in itself a complete, refutation of the argument. But now that we know of five other copies earlier than that at Milan (for the Vienna fragment gives the commencement of the Commentary), and find them all agreeing with the Oxford copy in the omission of these passages, we can have no reasonable doubt that they were after-additions, probably inserted by some monk in writing out a copy for his house, without the slightest intention of fraud, but simply with the view of making the work more complete. Hence, this argument

against the early date of the Commentary falls to the ground.

The two passages from Alcuin are found in his work, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' and were borrowed originally, one almost entirely, and the other entirely, from Fulgentius, 'De Fide ad Petrum.' The second of the passages appears in the two authors with so very little variation that, considered by itself, it would be impossible to determine from which of the two it was drawn by the hand which inserted it in the text of the Milan copy. But the first appears in Alcuin, with a verbal alteration and some additions, which are reproduced in the Milan copy; and this makes it clear that it was from Alcuin, not from Fulgentius, that it was drawn directly by the inserter. And if one was drawn from Alcuin, the legitimate inference is that the other was also.

But Dr. Swainson does not rest his case on these two passages solely. He suggests that others, which certainly belong to the genuine text, as they are found in all the manuscripts, are, in substance at least, from Alcuin. "The explanation of clause 5 is virtually contained in Alcuin, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' I. xiv. or II. ix." "The substance of the note on clause 24 is in Alcuin, 'De S. Trin.' I. ix. and xi." "So, again, the note on clause 25 is in Alcuin, I. viii. and ix." Such are his assertions.[1] Any person, however, who will take the trouble to compare the passages of the Commentary and of Alcuin's treatise referred to, will be at a loss to discover the slightest evidence of the

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 431.

one work being copied or borrowed from the other. There is no such literal accordance, no such identity of language, as to prove this. The agreement is no more than might be expected in two Catholic writers treating of the same subjects, no more than is found in independent works of different Fathers. Further, Dr. Swainson has found a stronger instance than any of these in a passage which he alleges to be "*clearly* taken from Alcuin"—"the explanation of verse 19."[1] In order to enable persons to judge for themselves how far this allegation can be substantiated, I will first subjoin the passage of the Commentary in question; then the passage of Alcuin from which it is alleged to be clearly taken; then some passages from St. Augustine, which require to be compared with both before a judgment can be formed on the point.

"Si me interrogaveris quid sit" (the Milan and the Paris MSS. all have *est* for *sit*) "Pater, ego respondebo Deus et dominus. Similiter si interrogaveris quid sit" (here also the Milan and the Paris MSS. have *est*) "Filius, ego dicam" (the Paris MSS. read *dico*) "Dèus et dominus. Et, si dicis quid est Spiritus Sanctus, ego dico Deus et dominus. Et in his tribus personis nòn tres Deos nec tres dominos, sed his" (the Milan MS. and Paris 2826 and 17,448 have *in his*) "tribus, sicut jam supra dixi" (the Milan and the Paris MSS. all have *supra dictum est*), "unum Deum et unum dominum confiteor."[2]

"Si forte de solo Patre interrogatus fueris, quid sit

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creed,' pp. 431, 438.

[2] FORTUNATUS'S Commentary.

Pater? responde Deus. Interrogatus de Filio, responde Deus. Interrogatus de Spiritu Sancto, responde Deus. Si interrogatus fueris simul de Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, non Deos sed Deum responde." [1]

With these compare the following passages from St. Augustine:—

"Quæris quid sit Pater, respondetur Deus. Quæris quid sit Filius, respondetur Deus. Quæris quid sit Pater et Filius, respondetur Deus. De solo Patre interrogatus, Deum responde. De solo Filio interrogatus, Deum responde. De utroque interrogatus non Deos, sed Deum responde." [2]

"Si enim de singulis interrogemur, utrum Deus sit Pater, respondemus Deus; utrum Deus sit Filius, respondemus Deus; utrum Deus sit Spiritus Sanctus, respondemus Deus. Cum autem de omnibus interrogati fuerimus, utrum tres sint, referimus ad divinam Scripturam dicentem, Audi Israel, Dominus Deus tuus Dominus unus est." [3]

"Sic et Dominum si quæras, singulum quemque respondeo, sed simul omnes non tres dominos Deos, sed unum dominum Deum dico. Hæc est fides nostra, quoniam hæc est fides recta, quæ fides etiam catholica nuncupatur." [4]

St. Augustine's works were the great quarry from which Western writers on dogmatic theology of subsequent ages drew their materials. Hence a degree of

[1] Alcuin, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' lib. i. cap. 2.
[2] 'Enar. in Psalm lxviii.' ser. i. n. 5.
[3] 'Collat. cum Maximino,' 12.
[4] 'Con. Maximinum,' lib. ii. c. 23, sect. 3.

resemblance will often be found between works written independently one of another. This is the case in regard to these two passages from the Commentary of Fortunatus and the treatise of Alcuin on the Trinity. The doctrine is St. Augustine's, and so is the phraseology to some extent. But neither passage is borrowed or copied from the other. The authors have got their materials from the same source, but have hewn them into different forms: the passage from Alcuin being cast in the model of the first passage from St. Augustine, that from the Commentary following rather the type of the other two. But supposing the resemblance to be such as to indicate that one of the two passages had been drawn or copied from the other, the necessary conclusion would be that the later-written had been drawn from the earlier, that Alcuin had drawn from the Commentary, not the Commentary from Alcuin. Before Dr. Swainson can establish his hypothesis, he has to prove that the Commentary was not written before the ninth century. That Alcuin should have drawn from the Commentary is by no means improbable, considering that he was in the habit of borrowing the thoughts and even language of earlier writers. But in this passage it seems evident, from its close resemblance to the first of the three from St. Augustine, that he received his inspiration directly from that Father, who was, indeed, his principal authority and guide—a fact of which abundant evidence is afforded in the treatise of which it forms a part.

It will not be out of place here to examine the

nature of the relation between this Commentary and the 'Sermo de Symbolo,' which appears in the appendix to St. Augustine's works,[1] and which is described by the Benedictine editors as a compilation from Ruffinus, Cæsarius, Gregorius, Ivo Carnotensis, and others. Several passages of the Commentary appear in the 'Sermo,' and, as the latter document could not have been composed before the twelfth century, for Ivo Carnotensis died A.D. 1115, nothing can be more obvious than that it must have drawn these passages either from the Commentary, or from earlier sources, or else partly from the one and partly from the other. The earlier work could not have derived them from the later. And it is moreover obvious that the compiler of the 'Sermo de Symbolo' did take some of these passages in question directly from the Commentary. In the tenth chapter, which relates to the article, "Credo in Spiritum Sanctum," the following occurs:—"Fides namque catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate veneremur: credamus et colamus et confiteamur." We cannot help recognizing here the third verse of the Athanasian Creed, with Fortunatus's comment upon it. The 'Sermo' continues immediately: "Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, quia sicut nunquam Pater sine Filio, nec Filius sine Patre, sic et nunquam fuit Pater et Filius sine Spiritu Sancto. Coæterna ergo est sancta Trinitas et inseparabilis unitas sine initio et sine fine." Again, the *ipsissima verba* of the

[1] Vol. vi. p. 758. Edit. 1701.

Athanasian Creed—part of the 24th verse—together with the comment of Fortunatus upon them. The reading, it is interesting to notice, is very nearly that of Paris, No. 1008. Then follow immediately the succeeding words of the 24th verse of the Creed: "Nihil majus aut minus;" which are followed by the long comment of Fortunatus upon them, beginning with "Æqualitatem personarum," and ending with "Deitas unum est;" forming one of the most remarkable passages in the Commentary. No argument can be required to prove that these passages, in each of which we find the very words of the Creed quoted by the Commentary, with its exposition of them, were derived from the Commentary. Again, the exposition of the article, "Descendit ad inferna," in the 'Sermo,' is precisely the same as that on the same article in the Commentary; and as it is traced to no other source, the conclusion follows that this was the source from which it was borrowed; and this conclusion is all the more obvious considering that other passages have been proved to be borrowed from the same document. There is yet another passage in the 'Sermo de Symbolo,' clearly drawn from the Commentary, only a little condensed. It is as follows:—"Nec quæratur quomodo genuit Filium, quod et angeli nesciunt, prophetis est incognitum. Unde illud dictum est, Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Nec a nobis discutiendus est Deus, sed credendus." The Benedictine editors have placed against this passage the marginal note: "Ex Ruffini symbolo," *i.e.* from the Commentary of Ruffinus

upon the Apostles' Creed, which was first printed under this title among the works of St. Jerome, to whom it had been attributed. Now the only passage in Ruffinus which affords any ground for this assertion of the Benedictines is the following:—"Credendus ergo Deus esse Pater unici filii sui domini nostri, non discutiendus." Let this be compared with the following in our Commentary on the Quicunque:—"Nec quæratur quomodo genuit Filium, quod et angeli nesciunt, prophetis est incognitum; unde eximius propheta Esaias dicit: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? Ac si dixisset: angelorum nullus, prophetarum nemo. Nec inenarrabilis et inæstimabilis Deus a servulis suis discutiendus est, sed fideliter credendus." The comparison leaves no room for doubt which of the two it was from which the 'Sermo' borrowed, that it was the latter, not the former. But at the same time, Fortunatus, or whosoever was the author of the Commentary attributed to him, appears to have been acquainted with Ruffinus's Commentary, and here, as elsewhere, to have adopted its line of thought. The Benedictine editors could not have been familiar with Fortunatus's Commentary. Otherwise, they could not have failed to mention it as one of the sources from which this 'Sermo de Symbolo' was compiled. That it was so has been proved by no fewer than five clear instances. It would be absurd to point to the appearance of these passages in this 'Sermo' as affording any ground for doubting or denying the antiquity of the Commentary. With equal reason, the appearance in it of certain passages from the

works of Gregory the Great might be taken as disproving the genuineness of those works. The fact clearly is an indication of the great esteem in which the Commentary, as well as the Creed, was held in the twelfth century, the age of St. Bernard. It can have no other significance.

In another instance there is an evident verbal resemblance between the 'Sermo de Symbolo' and the Commentary; so that the former seems to have followed the latter. Compare the corresponding passages in the two documents:—

"Denique sol aut ignis, si lutum tangat, quod tetigerit, purgat, et se tamen non inquinat."[1]

"Quia si sol aut ignis aliquid immundum tetigerit, quod tangit purgat et se mullatenus coinquinat."[2]

The idea is apparently borrowed from Ruffinus's Commentary.

In two passages, Fortunatus's Commentary exhibits an obvious similarity to the profession of Faith commonly known as 'Damasi Symbolum,' sometimes attributed to St. Jerome, as in the Paris MSS. numbered 2076 and 2341 and a MS. of De Thou, mentioned by Quesnel in his dissertation upon certain professions of Faith; but in neither case is the original adhered to exactly. The following are the passages of the Commentary alluded to:—"Deus nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patris Pater; et proprium nomen est Filii Filius; et proprium nomen est Spiritus Sancti Spiritus Sanctus;" and "Deus Pater Deum Filium genuit non

[1] Sermo. [2] Commentary.

voluntate, neque necessitate, sed natura." The 'Damasi Symbolum' has, "Deum, quod nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patri Pater; et proprium nomen est Filio Filius; et proprium nomen Spiritui Sancto Spiritus Sanctus;"[1] and "Pater Filium genuit non voluntate, nec necessitate, sed natura." These passages are also found in a profession of Faith which appears as Sermo 235 in the fifth appendix to St. Augustine's works, and which evidently bears a close relation to the 'Damasi Symbolum,' and was probably founded upon it; for the two documents contain much in common, but still they are not the same, as the one also contains much which is not in the other. But they are not to be found in another kindred profession of Faith—that which in some MSS. is entitled, "Fides Romanorum," in others, "Fides catholicæ ecclesiæ Romanæ," in others, "Libellus fidei," and is quoted by Hincmar and Ratramn as the work of Athanasius, probably because it was mixed up with the work on the Trinity, which in their time, and, indeed, so late as the seventeenth century, was attributed to that Father, but is now believed to have been written by Vigilius Tapsensis. This is a point which requires to be noted, because the 'Damasi Symbolum' and 'Fides Romanorum' are sometimes confounded and treated as identical. That they are distinct documents is obvious from their both occurring sometimes in the same MS. Now, however uncertain may be the authorship of this 'Damasi Symbolum,' there appears

[1] HIERONYMI, Opera, vol. iv. Edit. 1533.

to be no doubt of its antiquity, for it has a place in ancient collections, and in a MS. of the sixth century; hence the mere fact, if substantiated, of its being borrowed from in two instances by Fortunatus's Commentary can afford no ground for assigning to the latter a date posterior to the beginning of the seventh century. There is one other passage which Waterland describes as borrowed from the same source—and Dr. Swainson has followed him in doing so,—that commencing "Pater et Filius coæterni." But in this case there are no grounds for believing in such a connection. The Commentary asserts the equality of the Father and the Son, 'Damasi Symbolum' the equality of the Holy Spirit with them; both quote the same passage of the Psalms, but interpret it differently.

On the whole, after reviewing all the instances in which any connection can be traced between this Commentary and other works of antiquity, it may be confidently denied that, in any single one, it can be shown to have borrowed from any source subsequent to the sixth century. There is nothing, therefore, to set against the evidence that it was written in that century, or at the beginning of the following one—before the rise of the Monothelete controversy,—evidence which, as I have endeavoured to show, may be considered sufficient, even admitting its authorship by Venantius Fortunatus to be a matter of uncertainty.[1]

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 271–282.

It only remains to state that neither in the Paris nor in the Bamberg MSS. of this Commentary is the name of any author mentioned.

Hampole's Commentary.

Waterland expressed himself with some uncertainty in regard to the sources of this Commentary and its authorship, because he had reason to believe that it was found in manuscripts prior to the time of Hampole, particularly in one at Leipsic, assigned to the twelfth century.[1] These points are settled by the Oratorian Commentary and the Canonici Psalter at Oxford, already noticed, which, it will be remembered, belongs to the early part of the thirteenth century, and was written in Italy. Ricardus Hampolus or Richard Rolle of Hampole, the supposed author of the Commentary, was an Augustinian eremite of Yorkshire, and died A.D. 1349. The Commentary is printed in the 'Bibliotheca Maxima Patrum,' vol. xxvi., with the title 'Symboli Athanasiani Expositio clarissima per D. Richardum Pampolitarum eremitam.' The text, as Waterland remarks, is very faulty; but, whether the erroneous readings are attributable to the editor, or were copied by him from the MS. that he followed, it is impossible to say; nor does he state where his text was found. The Commentary thus printed is drawn, like that in the Canonici Psalter, entirely from Bruno's exposition, or rather that which formed the groundwork and substance of it, and the

[1] Waterland, 'On the Athanasian Creed,' p. 54. Oxford edit. 1870.

Oratorian, with the preface annexed to it, as edited from the Vatican MS. On comparing Hampole's Commentary with that in the Canonici MS., there appears this difference, that the former gives none of the Oratorian notes which the latter contains in reference to the verses from the fourth, "Neque confundentes," to the 30th, "Perfectus Deus," inclusive. But notwithstanding this, there is evidently a close connection between the two documents, the former reproducing almost all the rest of the notes which appear in the latter, and reproducing them as altered, abbreviated, condensed, or adapted by the latter from the two original sources. The conclusion is unavoidable, that Hampole had before him, and in the Commentary attributed to him has but re-edited, so to speak, the Commentary or collection of notes, of which we have a copy in the Oxford MS., Canonici Bibl. 30, which was constructed from the Commentary made use of by Bruno, and the Oratorian, and which, we have reason to believe, was extant in the twelfth century, and extensively known and used.

Commentary of Bruno.

In the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a fine and early manuscript copy of the Commentary of Bruno, Bishop of Würzburg, on the Athanasian Creed, which calls for some notice, as it was unknown to Waterland, and consequently is unnoticed in his description of the manuscripts of that exposition. The volume containing it comprises a Psalter, with the usual Canticles and hymns, accompanied throughout by

the Commentary of Bruno. It is a handsome quarto volume, written in two columns, the first giving the text, the second the Commentary in a smaller hand. The initial letters are large and richly decorated. The Rev. W. D. Macray, in a letter to the *Guardian* of May 15, 1872, assigns this MS. to the early part of the eleventh century; but it could not have been written before Bruno's consecration to the Episcopate, which took place in the year 1034, because, on the reverse of each leaf, at the top of the page, is written in capital letters *Bruno*, and on the opposite page at the top *epṡ*. The Psalter is preceded by some prefatory matter respecting the Psalms, a Litany, St. Jerome's Preface, and a passage from St. Augustine. It is followed immediately by the apocryphal 151st Psalm; then the usual Old Testament Canticles; the Benedicite; the Benedictus; the Magnificat, entitled, "Canticum Sanctæ Mariæ ad Vesperam;" the Nunc dimittis; the Lord's Prayer; the Apostles' Creed, the Te Deum, entitled, "Ymnus quem Sanctus Ambrosius et Sanctus Augustinus invicem condiderunt;" and last the Athanasian Creed, entitled, "Fides Catholica Sancti Athanasii Episcopi." Of these documents, the apocryphal Psalm and the Te Deum alone, I think, appear without any comment. The Quicunque is not complete, ending abruptly with "firmi," part of the word "firmiter," in the last verse. Then, after two blank folios, follows a long Litany, entitled, "Letania Major," then some prayers to be said after recitation of the Psalter; a form of confession; prayers addressed to each Person of the

Blessed Trinity, to the Blessed Virgin, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, the Apostles, to some individual Saints—Quirinus being the first, Martyrs, Confessors, Virgins, and All Saints. Several more prayers are added, and the "Prologus Hieronymi;" and then comes an abbreviated Psalter, described as "Psalterium a Sancto Hieronymo ut dicitur angelo docente compositum," intended for the use of persons who were unable from various causes: "Deo cotidie ex toto psalterium psallere." This last document is not concluded, the MS. being thus imperfect. This magnificent volume is one of the treasures bequeathed to the library in the middle of the last century by the nonjuring Bishop Rawlinson, who had purchased it for twenty-three shillings at the sale of the library of his brother, Thomas Rawlinson, in 1734.[1] Its reference is "B. N. Rawlinson, 163." Its contents afford some clue, though not of a very definite nature, to its early history and ownership. In the long Litany that follows the Canticles and Creeds, Benedictus, Quirynus, and Othmarus are distinguished among the numerous saints invoked, by their names being written in capital letters. Among the petitions at its conclusion are the following:—"Ut istam congregationem in sancta religione conservare digneris;" "ut pontifices et abbates in tuo sancto servitio confortare digneris;" "ut regem nostrum et omnes principes nostros in tua voluntate conservare digneris;" then "Oremus pro omni gradu ecclesie—pro pastore nostro—pro rege nostro—pro

[1] Letter of Mr. MACRAY, in the *Guardian*.

abbate nostro." The "pastor" here must be the bishop, not the Pope, who is prayed for elsewhere as "domnus apostolicus." In the second of the prayers to be used after the recitation of the Psalter, there is an intercession, "Pro salute regis et episcopi nostri et abbate nostro et pro universa congregatione nostra sive pro omnibus qui locum istum honoraverunt elemosinis." After the prayer to the Apostles, occur, as has been already mentioned, some prayers to individual Saints, and the first of these is to Quirynus, who is thus addressed: "Mente et corpore provolutus ante aram in tuo honore domine consecratam et tibi sancte Quiryne martyr Christi . . . tuum in hac hora levamen orationum imploro . . . per eum qui solus est omnium delictorum remissor Jhesum Christum," etc. Clearly this Psalter was originally used in some Benedictine monastery, where special honour and devotion were rendered to Quirinus, and perhaps also to Othmar, and where there was an altar dedicated to the former. Hence the original ownership of the volume may be assigned with some probability to the Benedictine Abbey of Tegernsee, on the Lake of Tegern, in the south of Bavaria, now a royal palace, where the particular cultus of Quirinus was observed after the translation of his remains there from Rome in the eighth century.[1] There appear to be two saints and martyrs of this name,[2] one of whom was Bishop of Siscia, in Pamnonia: his martyrdom, which took

[1] 'Topographie des Saints,' p. 673.

[2] Potthast, 'Bibliotheca Medii Ævi,' p. 862.

place A.D. 309, is celebrated in one of the Hymns of Prudentius. The other suffered martyrdom a little earlier—A.D. 269—at Rome. It is the latter whose cultus was practised at Tegernsee. It seems scarcely probable that the Oxford Psalter is the autograph manuscript of Bruno, which was presented by him to the Cathedral of Würzburg, and was long and carefully preserved in its valuable library, and was there so late as the year 1533, according to Cochleus, and from which the first edition of Bruno was printed in 1480.[1] Had it been so, surely Kilian, the Apostle and Patron of Würzburg, to whom Bruno dedicated his work, would have been selected as a special object of devotion, rather than Quirinus, and the former would not have been omitted from the long list of saints invoked in the Litany. Besides, it was evidently drawn up for use in a monastery. It is true that several MSS., which were pillaged by the Swedes from Würzburg in 1631, are now in the Bodleian Library; but they found their way there as part of the Laud, not the Rawlinson, Collection.

Was Bruno's Commentary an original work, or was it composed of pre-existing materials? and if so, to what extent? In the British Museum is a Psalter —Addit. MSS. No. 18,043—which, in Mr. Thompson's opinion, was written in the tenth century, not later; and in the usual place the Athanasian Creed occurs, headed by the title, "Fides catholica Sancti Athanasii," and having a Commentary annexed, which is, for the most part, the same as Bruno's. But there is this

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cxlii. p. 28.

difference, that three passages which appear in Bruno, and were clearly derived by him from Fortunatus's exposition, are wanting. They are as follows: —"Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia. Catholica universalis dicitur, id est recta, quam universa Ecclesia tenere debet. Ecclesia congregatio Christianorum sive conventus populorum dicitur." Part of note on verse 1. "Ergo si omnia potest, quid est quod non potest? Hoc non potest, quod non convenit omnipotenti posse. Falli non potest quia veritas et sapientia est. Œgrotare aut infirmari non potest, quia sanitas est. Mori non potest, quia immortalis est. Finiri non potest, quia infinitus et perennis est." Part of note on verse 13: "Similiter omnipotens," etc. And "Quia si me interrogaveris quid est Pater, ego respondeo Deus et Dominus; similiter si interrogaveris, quid est Filius, ego dico Deus et Dominus; et si dicis quid est Spiritus Sanctus, ego respondeo Deus et Dominus; et in his tribus personis non tres Deos nec tres Dominos, sed in tribus, sicut jam supra dictum est, unum Deum et unum Dominum confiteor." Note on verse 17: "Sicut singillatim," etc. Instead of the last, we have, "De Patre si quis te interrogaverit, quid est in persona, responde Deus et Dominus; si autem de Filio, similiter Deus et Dominus; si vero de Spiritu Sancto, indubitanter responde plenum Deum et Dominum eum esse." There are no other substantial discrepancies, though several varieties of reading are noticeable; and with these exceptions, the Commentary in this MS. is identical with that of Bruno.

That the three passages from Fortunatus formed part of the Commentary as it issued from the hand of Bruno, and was inserted by him in his Psalter, may be proved conclusively. In the British Museum may be seen a copy (as there is every reason to believe it to be) of the first printed edition of Bruno. It is a beautiful early printed book in folio, of vellum, with two columns in each page—the text occupying one; the Commentary, in smaller type, the other. The titles and initial letters of the Psalms and Canticles are rubricated. It has no title-page nor date. The date assigned to it, but doubtfully, by the catalogue is 1486; the last editor, however, puts the date of the first edition about 1480. There is a note on the fly-leaf by a former owner of the book, stating it to be the first edition, "typis Reyseri." The British Museum also contains a copy of the edition of 1494 in quarto, erroneously represented by Le Long as the first edition. It has for title, "Psalterium beati Brunonis episcopi herbipolensis MCCCCXCIV. per Antonium Koberger impressum;" and the colophon is, "Beati Brunonis psalterium ex doctorum dictis collectum per Antonium Koberger impressum, anno incarnationis deitates millesino quadringentesimo nonagesimo quarto finit feliciter." The latter edition is clearly a mere reprint of the former, the contents being precisely the same; and in the prolegomena, the editor states that he had printed the work from the autograph or original copy of Bruno, who, he says, "thesaurisans posteris filiis suis memorabilem et sanctum psalmorum librum, ex

quo ille impressus est, sumptuose scriptum, quasi hereditatis spiritualis non minimam portionem reliquit." Hence, as the three passages of Fortunatus appear in the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in these editions, the conclusion is inevitable that they belonged to it in the original copy of Bruno, being inserted there by his own hand. They are also found, with the exception of a few words, which were omitted, doubtless accidentally, in the valuable Rawlinson MS., previously described, in which the Psalter and Commentary are repeatedly and expressly attributed to Bruno, his name appearing at the top of each leaf, and which must have been written very shortly after his death, if not in his lifetime. The text of the Commentary, presented in the first edition, is followed very closely by the edition in Migne's series, and, as regards the passages from Fortunatus, I believe by all printed editions.

Under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious that, if the British Museum MS. Addit. No. 18,043, is of the tenth century, as Mr. Thompson believes, and not later, then what has been regarded always as Bruno's Commentary must have existed for the most part before his time, and that he did little more than insert the three passages from Fortunatus, substituting the third for the alternative one which appears in the British Museum manuscript. For Bruno composed his Commentary after his promotion to the episcopate in 1034, as appears clearly from the dedicatory verses addressed to St. Kilian, the Patron Saint of Würzburg—

"Sit collega tuæ sortis, Pater O Kiliane,
Antistes dono qui te veneratur in isto."

The editor of his works, in Migne's 'Patrologia,' puts the date of its compostion still later, within four years of his death, which took place from the effect of an accident in 1045, because, in his preface, he refers to a work by Papias the grammarian, which was edited in 1041. So that there is an interval of at least thirty-four years, probably forty-one, between the date assigned by a very competent authority as the latest limit of the period within which the British Museum MS. in question was written, and the date of the compilation by Bruno of his Commentary on the Psalms, inclusive, of course, of that on the Athanasian Creed. The conclusion, as I have before said, is obvious. Still, if it rested on this ground alone, and there were nothing to support and confirm it, we might hesitate to accept it as certain, inasmuch as it is difficult for the most experienced and skilful palæographer to determine the date of an ancient manuscript within a few years, when his only criteria are the appearance of the codex and the character of the writing. But there is much to confirm the conclusion thus arrived at. For, first, Bruno's Commentary on the Psalms is not an original work, but a mere compilation from earlier writers. The sources from which it is drawn were indicated in the early printed editions of the work, and so they are in the edition in Migne's 'Patrologia.' And, secondly, the Commentary on the Lord's Prayer in Bruno's Psalter is not really his, but must have

existed before his time. It appears word for word in the twelfth chapter of the 'Disputatio Puerorum'—a work which is placed among the doubtful works of Alcuin, and which, if it did not proceed from Alcuin's pen, must have belonged to his age, being found in a Salzburg manuscript of the ninth century.[1] So far, then, from its being antecedently improbable that Bruno should have borrowed for his Commentary on the Athanasian Creed what was in substance the work of some earlier author, it is clearly in accordance with his usual practice that he should have done so. He was not an original writer, but a mere compiler and manipulator of earlier materials. Moreover, thirdly, the very same Commentary which is found in the British Museum MS., is found in at least three other manuscripts, in none of which, though they are later than Bruno, is it ascribed to him. And, of course, it may be extant in many others in which it has passed for Bruno's Commentary. For the Commentary printed by Montfaucon from a MS. of St. Germain des Près, in his 'Diatribe de Symbolo Quicunque,' and entitled "Tractatus de fide catholica," is none other than this very Commentary; and, indeed, it was not recognized as Bruno's by Montfaucon. It is impossible to help identifying the Latin MS., numbered 12,020, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, with this manuscript of St. Germain's, for it formerly belonged to that celebrated abbey, as appears by the superscription on the first page, "Sancti Germani a fratis;" it contains this very same Commentary, with

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. ci. pp. 1097, 1098, and 1143, 1144.

the same title; and in age also it corresponds with Montfaucon's codex, being assigned to the twelfth century. It is not a Psalter, but contains, besides the Commentary, works of Bede, St. Augustine, and St. Jerome. The second of the manuscripts referred to is that magnificent and most interesting Psalter, belonging to Trinity College, Cambridge, known as the "Eadwine Psalter," because written by a monk of that name, of Christ Church, Canterbury, who is represented at the end in a full-length portrait, seated with a book before him, holding a pen in one hand, and a knife in the other. It is also of the twelfth century, executed probably about a century after the time of Bruno. The Athanasian Creed in this volume is accompanied by interlinear versions, or glosses, in Saxon and Norman, and the Commentary appears in the form of marginal notes. Neither Creed nor Commentary have any title. The textual resemblance, as regards the Commentary, is closer between this manuscript and that in the British Museum, than between this and the Paris copy. It may be of interest to add that the Athanasian Creed in this Psalter is preceded by the same illustration as in the Utrecht; but in this, the picture is better drawn and coloured. The third MS., later than Bruno, referred to above as containing the same Commentary as the Addit. MS. No. 18,043, is in the Cathedral Library at York, or, at least, was there in Waterland's time, who says that he had seen and collated it, that it may be five hundred years old, or of the early part of the thirteenth century, and that

the Commentary in it is without title. It is from his account that I gather the identity of the Commentary, which is found in it, not having seen the manuscript myself.[1] Waterland was struck by the variations of the text in these manuscripts, as compared with the printed editions of Bruno, and, having no notion that the text in the former could be that of a Commentary which existed before Bruno's time, was puzzled how to account for the difference. "One thing," he says, "I a little wondered at, that the three manuscripts of St. Germain's, Trinity College, and York should all leave out some paragraphs which appear in the printed copies, and the same paragraphs; but I have since found that those very paragraphs were taken out of Fortunatus's comment, and belong not properly to Bruno's. This, I presume, the first copiers understood, and therefore omitted them." But it is most improbable that copyists would have intentionally omitted three such important passages, and still more that they should have substituted for one of them the alternative passage which appears in these, or, at least, in the Paris and Trinity College manuscripts, as in that in the British Museum. And if they omitted these passages, as not being Bruno's, but the work of another, why did they not omit others on the same ground, as they clearly might have done? Nor does this hypothesis account for the fact that in none of these three manuscripts, all later than Bruno, is the Commentary attributed to

[1] WATERLAND, 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' pp. 51, 52. Oxford edition, 1870.

him. Waterland then suggests another hypothesis, that the passages from Fortunatus were not inserted by Bruno in his own copy; but it has been proved that they were. Clearly the British Museum MS. furnishes the true solution of the difficulty—that in these three MSS., as possibly in others, we have copies of a Commentary which was extant before the time of Bruno, and was transferred by him into his Psalter, with some alterations and additions, in particular the three passages from Fortunatus being inserted, and the last of them substituted for another of a similar nature. And there is nothing improbable in this, inasmuch as he made a precisely similar use of a previously existing exposition of the Lord's Prayer.

Nor can Bruno justly be charged with fraud, or the intention of it, in adopting this method. It is not to be supposed that he made any pretence of originality. In constructing his Psalter, it was his plan to furnish it with the best expositions that he could from earlier sources, whether in reference to the Psalms, the Canticles, or the Quicunque. And all the world understood this. It was a system sanctioned by use and precedent.

This Commentary, which thus formed the groundwork, or rather the substance, of Bruno's, must have been widely known and received: for it is found, as we have seen, in a French MS., that namely, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près at Paris; in an English manuscript, the Eadwin Psalter, which was written at Christ Church, Canter-

bury; and in a German manuscript, that now in the British Museum; which had for its original home the Abbey of Stavelot in the Forest of Ardennes, as appears by a memorandum on the first page: "Liber Monasterii Stabulensis." The copies in the Eadwin Psalter and the British Museum MS. bear such a close textual resemblance, as to make it appear probable that they were taken from the same original.

And, fourthly, there is some internal evidence that this Commentary was composed before the eleventh century. The note upon the 26th verse has the following:—"Necesse est ut incarnationem Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credamus. Quomodo fideliter? Non adoptivum, sed proprium Dei Filium, sicut dixit Apostolus: Proprio Filio suo non pepercit Deus," etc. This terminology we should expect to find, not in a document of the eleventh century, but in one drawn up during the prevalence of the Adoptionist controversy at the end of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth. That our Blessed Saviour is the proper, not the adoptive, Son of God, is the special doctrine uniformly affirmed by the orthodox divines of that epoch, in opposition to the heresy of Adoptionism. So the Confession of Faith, put forth by the Synod of Friuli, in 796: "Non putativus, Dei Filius, sed verus; non adoptivus, sed proprius, quia nanquam fuit, propter hominem quem assumpsit, a Patre alienus;" and again, "Et ideo in utraque natura proprium eum, et non adoptivum, Dei Filium confitemur."[1] And the

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xcix. p. 294.

Synodical Epistle of the celebrated Council of Frankfort, held A.D. 794, to the Spanish Bishops, quotes the very same passage of St. Paul in support of the doctrine: "De quo et Apostolus ad Romanos: *Qui proprio Filio non pepercit.* Proprium nominavit, non adoptivum."[1]

Theodulph, who was Abbot of Fleury and Bishop of Orleans at this very time, is stated, in a catalogue of the Abbots of Fleury, edited by Baluze, from an ancient manuscript of the Colbertine Library, to have composed an exposition of the Athanasian Creed.[2] He was considered one of the most learned and erudite men of his age, and on this account was invited by Charlemagne to Gaul, and promoted to high ecclesiastical dignity; he was present at the Council of Frankfort, where the heresy of Adoptionism was a principal subject of discussion, and took an active part in the controversies of the day. Taking all this in connection with the above passage, so clearly breathing the language employed in the Adoptionist controversy, the thought cannot fail to suggest itself that this Commentary may be not improbably the exposition of Theodulph, which has hitherto escaped recognition. The coincidence is at least suggestive and interesting, though far from amounting to proof. But there is no other person belonging to that period to whom we have any reason to attribute a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed.

In several instances a connection may be traced

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. ci. p. 1341.

[2] BALUZII 'Miscellaneorum,' liber i. pp. 491, 492. Paris, 1678.

between this and the earlier Commentaries. Twice the Bouhier Commentary seems to have been borrowed from, St. Augustine being in each case the original source, viz., in the commencement of the note on the 13th verse: "Omnipotens dicitur," etc., and the close of that on the 21st, commencing, "Nam cum sit," etc. Twice the Paris Commentary appears to have been made use of in the same way, viz., in part of the note on the first verse: "Dicitur fides eo quod fit," etc., and the close of that on the fifth: "Persona dicta est," etc.; and the Troyes Commentary once—in the note on the 28th verse—from "Ex utero" to "creaturam."

That the Commentary or series of notes found in the Canonici MS., mentioned previously, and that of Hampole, were drawn from this Commentary, of which we have a copy in Addit. MS. No. 18,043, and not from Bruno, is, I think, clear, because they both omit the passages from Fortunatus, which he inserted, and both contain the passage commencing, "De Patre si quis," which he removed, substituting the last of them in its place.

Other Commentaries.

In the Royal MS. 8, B. xiv. in the British Museum, there is a Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, cast in the form of question and answer, which has, to the best of my knowledge, escaped notice hitherto. The two volumes thus numbered contain a large collection of different manuscripts and portions of manuscripts. The Commentary commences on f. 28 of the second

volume. The twelfth century is assigned by the printed catalogue as the date when it was written. Mr. Thompson, the learned Keeper of the MSS., thinks that it was written about A.D. 1200, and in England. The name of the author is not given; the initial Rubric is now illegible, but it appears to have been copied in the margin by a later hand: "Incipiunt interrogaciones et responsiones de fide catholica super symbolum beati Athanasii Alexandrinæ urbis episcopi." It commences, "Quomodo diffinitur fides secundum intellectum? Fides est credulitas illarum rerum que non videntur aut fides est etiam confessio sancte trinitatis." The following is curious, as showing the belief of the age in regard to the authorship of the Quicunque:—"Int. Quis composuit hanc fidem? R. Beatus Athanasius Alexandrine urbis episcopus. Int. Ubi eam composuit? R. In Niceno concilio urbis Bithinie. Int. Quo tempore eam composuit? R. Eo tempore, quando conflictum habuit cum Arrio. Int. Quare eam composuit? R. Ut distrueret errorem hereticorum, sed maxime propter Arrianum." The following seems to be founded on Fortunatus's Commentary or the 'Damasi Symbolum:'—"Deus nomen est potestatis non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patris Pater, quia solus est Pater; et proprium nomen est Filii Filius, quia solus Filius a solo Patre; et proprium nomen nomen et Spiritus Sancti, quia solus ab utroque proceedit." We find the readings *in carnem* and *in Deum*: "Unus autem non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed assumptione humanitatis in Deum. Quia non est conversa divinitas in carnem,

sed humanitas assumpta est in divinitatem. Ista, id est humanitas, est aucta; illa, id est divinitas, non est minorata." The conclusion is as follows:—"Et, si ita unusquisque non crediderit, salvus esse non poterit. Explicit explanatio fidei quicunque vult."

I have met with the Commentary commencing, "Apud Aristotelem argumentum est racio rei dubie faciens fidem. Sed apud Christum argumentum est fides faciens racionem;" that of Simon Tornacensis, Professor of Theology at Paris, at the commencement of the thirteenth century—in two manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, marked Latin, No. 18,068, and 13,576. Both of these are assigned by the catalogue to the thirteenth century: the former belonged originally to the Cluniac Priory of St. Martin des Champs, at Paris, as appears by the coat of arms on the cover, bearing the motto, "Ordinis Cluniacensis Sancti Martini a campis;" the latter was formerly the property of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, also situated at Paris—a fact indicated by the note on the first page: "St Germani a pratis." Evidently the Royal manuscript mentioned by Oudin,[1] as containing a copy of this Commentary, and described by him as "Codex Reg. 3903," cannot be identified with either of these MSS., inasmuch as neither of them belonged in his time to the Royal Library. The other manuscripts of it noted by Oudin were, at the time when he wrote, in the Library of St. Victor, at Bruges, and at Villers, in Brabant. There is

[1] 'De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis,' tom. iii. pp. 26–33. Lipsiæ, 1722.

nothing in the catalogue to indicate that the Commentary of Simon Tornacensis is among the contents of either of these manuscripts at Paris, noticed by me—the description given being in the one case, "Exposition du Symbole de S. Athanase;" in the other, "Glose sur le Symbole de S. Athanase." But if our neighbours' catalogues are not perfect, our own are not infallible. The British Museum Royal MS. 9, E. xii., contains some works of Simon Tornacensis, and Casley's printed catalogue mentions as one of them, "In Symbolum Athanasii Tractatus." My endeavours, however, to find it there were fruitless; nor could I find any Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, but I found one on the Nicene.

Waterland notices two MSS. in the Bodleian Library of a contemporary Commentary on the Quicunque by an Englishman, Alexander Neckam; but he has omitted to mention the copy of the same exposition in the Harleian Collection, which, since his time, has been transferred to the British Museum Library. The number of the MS. is Harleian, 3133; it is assigned to the thirteenth century. The exposition is followed by the colophon: "Explicit fides catholica Athanasii episcopi exposita a Magistro Alexandro de Sancto Albano."

The Bodleian MS., Laud, 493, is particularly deserving of attention, as the occasion of the remarkable mistake into which Waterland was led by the carelessness of some informant. This MS., he says, contains a copy of the Athanasian Creed, "which has for its title, "Anastasii Expositio Symboli Aposto-

lorum."[1] And it is partly on the ground of this title being thus applied to the Creed that he attributes the authorship to Hilary of Arles. The fact is that this MS. does not contain a continuous copy of the Athanasian Creed; but it does contain *inter alia* comments upon the three Creeds. On f. 70 there is the Rubric, "Expositio Symboli Apostolorum." This exposition continues to f. 74 v., where we have "Symbolum sanctorum patrum;" the commencement of the exposition of the Nicene Creed. Then on f. 75 v. the exposition of the Athanasian Creed is introduced by the Rubric, "Hic tractatus de symbolo Sancti Anastasii." It commences, "Determinato de symbolo in duabus distinctionibus precedentibus, restat expositio Symboli Anastasii. Divisa est in tres partes prohemium tractatum epylogum." After the comment on the two first verses, we have, "Sequitur tractatus, Fides autem catholica," etc. After the words, "qui vero mala in eternum ignem," comes, "Sequitur epylogum, Hæc est fides catholica," etc. At the end is the Rubric, "Explicit expositio Symboli Anastasii." I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray for the information that, in the exposition of the Apostles' Creed, reasons are given why that was said "demisse," and the other Creeds "alte," also why "Symbolum Anastasii" was said at Prime, viz., because the Faith affords "primam illuminationem," and because in the morning we should assume our arms to fight with the devil

[1] 'Critical' History of the Athanasian Creed,' ch. iv. p. 81. Oxford edition.

all day long. This is interesting, as this codex belonged to the Carthusians, whose rule it was to recite the Quicunque daily at Prime. Mr. Macray also informs me that the term, "Symbolum Anastasii," occurs a second time in the comment on the Apostles' Creed, and that "Symbolum Athanasii" appears once in that on the Nicene Creed. Thus in this MS., the Athanasian Creed is several times entitled, "Symbolum Anastasii," once "Symbolum Athanasii," but never, as Waterland supposes, "Anastasii Expositio Symboli Apostolorum." But this last title does appear in a list of contents written on the fly-leaf in a modern hand. Hence, no doubt, the blunder of Waterland's informant, by which he was misled. In Waterland's time, the MS. was numbered 1205; "Laud, 493," is its notation at present. That writer assigns A.D. 1400 for its date; but Mr. Macray tells me that it should be put nearer to 1300 than to 1400; and the Librarian of the Bodleian, as I learn from Dr. Swainson's book, is of a similar opinion. By a note at the top of the first page, "Liber Carthusiensium prope Maguntiam," and a similar one at the top of the last, "Codex Carthusiensium Maguntie," we are informed who were the original owners. Much of what I have here mentioned with respect to this MS. has been said by me on a former occasion;[1] but having since had an opportunity of seeing it myself, and thus having gathered more information about it, I deemed it desirable to revert to the subject, involving, as it

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 328–330.

does, a point of real importance in reference to the authorship of our Creed.

At the end of the Commentary of Dionysius Carthusianus on the Psalms and Canticles, published at Cologne in 1538, is subjoined a long exposition of the Athanasian Creed, attributed to the same writer. The editor appears to speak doubtfully of its genuineness, but considers it certain that it was the work, if not of Dionysius, of a member of the same order, who was a diligent student of his writings. This exposition, though apparently connected with the Carthusians, is evidently different from the last-mentioned Commentary; and, in all probability, was written in the fifteenth century, in the middle of which Dionysius Carthusianus flourished. He is also called Dionysius of Richel, from the name of his birthplace, situated in the diocese of Liege. He was a very copious writer, and was honoured with the designation of "The Exstatic Doctor."

It is entirely beyond my present purpose to give a complete account of the Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed. But at the termination of my notices of those few to which, for special reasons, I have thought it right to draw attention, I cannot refrain from giving expression to my growing sense of the greatness and importance of the subject. I am able to enumerate no fewer than twenty-six ancient Latin Commentaries on the Quicunque (including, of course, those which I myself have been the first to notice)—ranging in date from the end of the sixth or the early part of the seventh century down to the fifteenth—

which are known to be extant. Hence it is certain that, during the whole of this long period, the Quicunque was a favourite subject of exposition, at least in Western Christendom; and this fact is of itself an indisputable evidence of the wide acceptance which it obtained among our Christian forefathers, of the careful study and attention which they bestowed upon it, and of the high esteem in which it was held by them. Commentaries are not written upon unknown and neglected documents, but upon those which are stamped with the marks of authority and credit and repute. Moreover, the evidence thus necessarily derived from the number of ancient Commentaries known to us at the present day, would be seriously underrated if it were taken for granted that these are all that ever existed. This, so far from being certain, is, on the contrary, exceedingly improbable. It is not impossible that several Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, and it is in the highest degree probable that some, at least, have perished entirely in the great destruction of ancient manuscripts which has taken place from various causes. Nor can it be safely assumed that the ancient Commentaries known to us are all that are in existence even at the present day. We really do not know what treasures lie hid in our libraries. Dr. Maitland, who must have had a considerable knowledge of libraries and of manuscripts, says, in his deeply interesting work on the 'Dark Ages:' "In the first of these papers I said, 'Who can take upon himself to say what is extant?' and I wrote these words under the feeling that copies,

perhaps authors, which are not known to exist, may still be in being."[1] There is great truth, I believe, in this remark. Catalogues do not always, even in great and important libraries, give very full and accurate information of the contents of MSS.; and if any one wants to know for certain what a manuscript contains, his best way is to search it through carefully himself. Addit. MS. 24,902 was some years in the British Museum before it was found to contain a copy of the Bouhier Commentary. I do not entertain the slightest doubt that further research would bring to light in foreign libraries, if not in our own, Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed, of which at present we are perfectly ignorant. Dr. Swainson says: "I have a memorandum that the collection at Trèves, No. 222, of the thirteenth century, contains expositions of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds; and No. 531, of the fourteenth century, contains six expositions. They are not distinguished; I have not seen them; and they may possibly be the same as others to which I have referred."[2] These Commentaries may, of course, be the same as some already known to us; but who can tell this till some account is given of them? In the catalogue of the Munich Library, MS. 5668, dated A.D. 1373, is described as containing treatises by "Albertus canonicus regularis Dyessensis" on the Athanasian, as well as the two other Creeds. I am not aware that this work has ever been noticed. Thus there are not wanting

[1] Page 287.

[2] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 458.

indications that this subject of Commentaries on the Athanasian Creed is still an unexhausted field of inquiry, which may yield new, possibly important, materials for the further elucidation of its history.

THE CANON OF AUTUN.

THIS Canon, enjoining upon the clergy the recitation of the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian, is known through two systematic collections of Canons, entitled, by way of distinction, the Angers and Herovall Collections, in which it finds a place.[1] Of these the Angers is the earlier, the other being drawn largely from it. Of the six MSS. of the former, enumerated by Professor Maassen, in his work on 'Canon Law,' one is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris; and four out of the seven MSS. of the latter, mentioned by the same authority, are deposited in that library. Having examined these Paris manuscripts with the view of obtaining authentic information respecting the Canon in question, which occupies an important place in the early history of the Quicunque vult, I proceed to state the results.

The Paris MS. containing the Angers Collection is numbered 1603, and is assigned by the present authorities of the manuscript department to the commence-

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' by G. D. W. OMMANNEY, pp. 250–257.

ment of the ninth century. Some record of its earlier history is supplied by two memoranda, one of which appears on the first page, "Codex Tellerianus Remensis, 264, Reg. 4483," *i.e.* it once belonged to Archbishop Teillier, of Rheims. The other, which is found on f. 7, the initial page of our collection, is of more interest, as showing the original ownership of this document, and probably the locality where it was written: "Pertinet monasterio S. Amandi in pabula ordinis Sancti Benedicti Tornacensis deocesis." Thus we learn that the MS. was originally the property of the Abbey of St. Amand, one of the most ancient and most illustrious Benedictine Abbeys in the Low Countries, situated between Tournay and Valenciennes. It may be mentioned that the first six leaves are evidently later written than the rest of the volume containing the collection, and could not have belonged to it originally—a fact which is apparent from the last-mentioned memorandum being written on the seventh folio, the first of the collection. Two distinct manuscripts have been united in one volume by the modern binder. At the commencement appears the list of the titles of the several chapters, the first being, "De fide catholica et symbolo." This is followed by the Rubric in capitals: "Incipiunt Canones Agustodininsis hira prima;" and then the Canon: "Si quis presbyter aut diaconus subdiaconus clericus symbolum, quod sancto inspirante spiritu apostoli tradiderunt et fidem sancti athanasi presulis irreprehensibiliter non recensiverit, ab episcopo condamnetur." Then the thirteenth Canon

of Agde: "Simbolum etiam placuit ab omnibus ecclesiis una die, id est, ante octo dies dominice resurrectionis publice in ecclesia competentibus tradi." These two Canons constitute the first chapter. The forty-fifth chapter is "De clericis monachis abbatibus non manentes in suo proposito." It appears on f. 50, and among the Canons which it comprises are some disciplinary Canons of Autun, numbered respectively 1, 8, 6, 5, 10, 21, the first being introduced by the somewhat notable Rubric: "Canon Agustodoninsis hira. 1, leudegarii episcopí." This Canon is as follows: —"Primus titulus hic est monasterie disciplinae ut abbatis vel monachis peculiarem non abeant et monachi ab abbate victum et vestitum consuetum accipiant." The barbarisms are reproduced from the manuscript. The word "hira," or "hera," evidently means "number:" it is usually written in an abbreviation, hr̄, but in the Rubric in the first chapter, given above it is written in full. All the Autun Canons, which appear in the forty-fifth chapter, relate to monastic discipline. The sixty-third chapter gives a table of the Councils, at which the Canons contained in the collection were drawn up, with the respective numbers of the subscribing bishops, and in some instances their names. It has the title: "De episcopis qui suprascriptus kanones consenserunt et firmaverunt;" and contains twenty-six numbers, the last of which, numbered by mistake XXVII., gives simply the subscription of St. Leger, nothing else. It is as follows:—"Consensum domno leutgario episcopo agustiduninsis, Ego leutgarius acsi peccator cum

consensu fratrum meorum polliciti sumus et perpetualiter placuit conservandum." It may be interesting to compare with this the text of the same subscription, as edited by Professor Maassen, in his book on 'Canon Law,'[1] from the Vienna MS. of the collection: "Consensum domni Leudegarii episcopi Agustuninsis: Ego Leudegarius, acsi peccator, Edue civitatis episcopus cum consensu fratrum meorum polliciti sumus et perpetualiter placuit conservandum." This is the only instance of the actual subscription of any bishop being given. The other numbers or paragraphs of the table are drawn in a different form, stating the number of the subscribing bishops, and some of their names. Thus the twenty-fourth, according to the Brussels MS., as printed by Maassen, is as follows:—"Canones Lugdunenses firmaverunt episcopi XIIII.: Philippus Viennensis, Nicetius Lugdoninsis, Siacrius Æduorum et reliqui." The probable inference from this notable difference is that the Canons of Autun were signed and confirmed by St. Leger on behalf of the bishops who were present, and with their consent—an arrangement which might have been brought about possibly by his personal influence and character. This seems the most probable interpretation of the words, "cum consensu fratrum meorum polliciti sumus." Had the Synod been diocesan merely, his subscription alone would have been sufficient and necessary.[2] Autun being the chief city of the Ædui, its bishop was commonly

[1] Vol. i. p. 971.

[2] LAMBERTINI 'De Synodo Diocesana,' viii. 2, 1.

called, "episcopus Æduorum," or "Æduæ civitatis," as we see in the above instances.

The two most important and interesting MSS. of the Herovall Collection at Paris are those marked 3848 B (Baluze 180, Reg. 4241) and 2123 (Colb. 1655, Reg. 4240). As these two manuscripts have a significant bearing upon the history of the Athanasian Creed on other grounds besides the fact of their containing the Autun Canon, and have obviously a close mutual connection, a somewhat fuller account of their contents will be desirable. 3848 B, the earlier of the two, gives the most complete copy of the Herovall Collection, and is clearly the most trustworthy document for reasons which will transpire by-and-by. This, then, calls for notice first. It is assigned by Maassen to the commencement of the ninth century. It commences with, "Cannones sancti Gregorii pape;" then on f. 14, "Ex opusculis sancti Agustini et sancti Ysidori de diversis heresibus;" then on f. 37, verso, we have in Rubric, as the titles generally are written, "Sermo antequam symbolum tradatur." This "sermo" commences: "Queso vos, fratres karissimi, ut vobis reserantibus expositionem symboli adtentius audiatis, quia doctrina symbuli virtus est sacramenti, inluminatio anime, plenitudo credendi." This is also the commencement of the sixth "Sermo de Symbolo," or "Sermo" 242, in the fourth appendix to St. Augustine; but the two do not correspond throughout, as Dr. Swainson seems to suppose;[1] for the Sermo in the Paris MS.

[1] 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 258.

goes on to describe the Apostles dictating, one by one, the several articles of the Apostles' Creed, which is not the case with the Sermo in the appendix. Another similar address on the Creed immediately follows in the MS., introduced by the Rubric on f. 43: "Item expositio fidei." This is an entirely different document from the preceding exposition, and one of greater antiquity, and it possesses considerable interest in relation to the history of the Athanasian Creed. In this point of view I purpose some further notice of it. The expository portion of it, which I copied, will be found in Appendix, note G. Dr. Swainson's mistake in regard to the preceding Sermo, or exposition of the Apostles' Creed, has been noticed. He has been betrayed into a similar mistake with regard to this. He imagines it to be the same as Sermo 244 in the fourth appendix to St. Augustine—a work pronounced by the Benedictine editors to savour more of the style of Cæsarius than Augustine. Indeed, so entirely is his mind possessed with the notion of this identity, that he gives a translation of the Sermo, or exposition in the appendix, and represents it as the translation of that in the Paris MSS.[1] Clearly he has never examined the manuscripts himself, his knowledge of them being derived from Maassen's account; and observing that the two discourses have the same commencement, he rushed to the conclusion that they are the same throughout. That they are not the same, at least as regards the expository part, will be obvious upon a comparison of the portion of

[1] 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 258–260.

the Sermo, or exposition, in the Paris MSS., which is given in Appendix, note G, with the Sermo or exposition in the appendix to St. Augustine. In fact, the two discourses are based upon different types of the Apostles' Creed, that in the Paris MSS. presenting the earlier type. The identity is confined to the opening sentence and the conclusion.

To proceed with the account of the contents of Paris, No. 3848 B. After this discourse comes the Rubric: "Exemplum testimoniorum sancti Hilarii episcopi et confessoris de fide in libro secundo inter cetera." Then follow several passages from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Theophilus, the Epistles of St. Cyril of Alexandria to Nestorius and Bishop John; three passages from St. Isidore, headed respectively by the Rubrics: "De fide Trinitatis Isidori episcopi," "Item dicta sancti Isidori episcopi de eadem Trinitate," and "Item Isidori in libro Differentiarum." Then on f. 68 follows the Athanasian Creed, entitled, "Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi." The text of the Creed presents no remarkable variations from the ordinary text. It reads in verse 25, "Unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate;" in verse 33, "in carne" and "in Deo;" in verse 37, "Patris omnipotentis." Then another profession of Faith, headed: "Incipit Fides sancti Gregorii papae urbis." It is worth noting here that the Quicunque vult appears to be introduced among the testimonies to the Faith, and that the latest writer quoted is Isidore of Seville. Then comes the Table of the Councils which have supplied the Canons in the Herovall Col-

lection. They are forty-three in number, the last being "Kanones Augustudunensium sancti leodegarii episcopi." Then follows a notice respecting Canons, and the six Œcumenical Councils. It may be observed in passing that, in the account of the sixth, Honorius is mentioned among persons condemned, "per quos error fidei usque nunc pullulavit." Then follows the list of the titles of the chapters of the Herovall Collection. They are seventy-six in all, the first being, "De fide catholica." Next follows the Rubric: "Incipit collectum ex libris canonum," indicating the commencement of the collection. Then immediately: "I. De fide catholica"—the title obviously of the first chapter. The figure is rubricated, but not the words. Then the Apostles' Creed; the original Nicene Creed, with the anathema, as usual, annexed; the Creed of Constantinople without the Filioque; the twelve anathematisms of St. Cyril of Alexandria, entitled, "Sancti Cyrilli Alexandrini episcopi Capitula de fide quæ firmavit Synodus prima Ephesiana CC sanctorum patrum;" the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon; the Definition of the Fifth Council, in nineteen chapters, entitled, "Definitio capitulorum sancte quinte Synodi quæ congregata est sub Justiniano urbe Constantinopoli;" the Definition of the Lateran Council, held under Pope Martin, A.D. 649, which condemned Monotheletism, in twenty-one chapters, followed by the subscription of the Pope. Then, "I." (the figure is rubricated) "Canon Agustudinensis hira. I. Si quis presbyter, diaconus, subdiaconus vel clericus sym-

bolum apostolorum et fidem sancti athanasi episcopi irreprehensibiliter non recensierit, ab episcopo condemnetur." This is followed by the second Canon of the Third Council of Toledo, ordering the Creed of Constantinople to be said every Lord's day. The fifty-first chapter, f. 143, verso, corresponding with the 44th and 45th of the collection of Angers, and entitled, "De clericis, monachis vel abbatibus," contains six Autun Canons, numbered respectively 1, 8, 6, 5, 10, and 15. The collection is followed by "epistula hieronymi de eo quod ait apostolus unius uxoris virum," "opuscula sancti agustini de diversis heresibus," "Item de heresibus sancti ysidori," and lastly, the "liber de dogmatibus," attributed to Gennadius, entitled, "Liber dogmatum" and "dogma, id est, doctrina vel definitio de fide." This last document appears in fifty-one sections; no one is named as the author.

Paris Latin, No. 2123, belonged formerly to the Colbert Collection, and appears to have been previously the property of P. Pithou and James Augustus Thuanus, or De Thou—these names being written at the top of the first page. The first document which it contains is, "Sancti Cirilli Alexandrini episcopi chartula de fide que firmavit sinodus prima Ephesiana CC. sanctorum patrum." The next, "Definicio capitulorum sancta et apostolica sinodi urbis Rome sanctissimorum episcoporum." These "capitula," as well as some others, are obviously imperfect, owing to the loss of some leaves. Then on f. 6, verso, occurs the title: "Incipit dogma vel definitio de fide." This

is the "Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis," commonly attributed to Gennadius, and appears here, as in 3848 B, in fifty-one sections only, the last commencing, "Propter novelli legis labores," etc. Then on f. 17, "Sermo antequam symbolum tradatur," and on f. 21. "Item expositio fidei." These are the same discourses which are given in 3848 B, and the titles introducing them are the same. And the next document is the same to a certain point; for on f. 24, verso, occurs the title: "Exemplum testimoniorum sancti hilarii episcopi et confessoris de fide in libro secundo de fide"—precisely the same as in 3848 B; and the passages quoted which follow are the same; but 2123 does not give all the passages and documents, which appear under the head of testimonies in the other manuscript, those last in order being omitted, and among them the Athanasian Creed, The omission is attributable, I believe, simply to the indolence of the scribe, as the MS. presents other omissions of a like remarkable character, which can only be accounted for upon this hypothesis. Then, on f. 29, verso, comes a document which is not found in 3848 B, a list of the Popes, 147 in number, beginning with St. Peter and ending with John XVIII., whose Pontificate dated from A.D. 1024 to 1033; but the portion from Leo III. inclusive, down to the end, is clearly a later addition, written by a different hand. The old printed catalogue says: "Episcoporum urbis Romæ catalogus a Sancto Petro ad Adrianum usque, et ab Adriano ad Johannem XXII., sed manu recentiore perductus." "XXII." must be

a mistake. The duration of each Pontificate is stated, and in the case of the earlier Popes, a brief notice of their acts is added. Then follows a list of provinces and dioceses, and then "Canones Sancti Gregorii Papæ," described in the printed catalogue as "sive potius ex pœnitentiali Theodori Cantuarensis." Then on f. 63, verso, we have "Decreta majorum;" and on f. 65, verso, commences the Herovall Table of Councils, which is here precisely the same as in 3848 B. And the documents which follow are the same, word for word, with those that appear in that manuscript, and are arranged in the same order, viz., the notices respecting Canons and the six Œcumenical Councils, and the list of the titles of the chapters. Then the collection commences as in 3848 B: "Incipit collectum ex libris canonum de fide catholica." "De fide catholica" is clearly the title of the first chapter, though it is not preceded by the figure I. Then follow, as also in 3848 B, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene, the Constantinopolitan, the twelve Anathematisms of St. Cyril; and next the title: "Definitio sanctæ synodi Chalcedonensis, DCXXX. episcoporum." But the Definition is not given, and the next document which appears is the Autun Canon, preceded by the Rubric: "I. Canon Agustudunensis." Here we have a similar omission to that already noticed. It is clear that all the documents which appear in 3848 B, between the Anathematisms of Cyril and the Autun Canon, viz., the Definition of Chalcedon, the Definition, so-called, of the Fifth General Council, and that also of the Lateran Council under Pope

Martin, have been omitted. And such a remarkable omission could not have arisen from mere inadventence —it must have been wilful—the result of indolence on the part of the copyist. What makes this all the more evident is that the Rubric giving the title of the Definition of Chalcedon occurs at the bottom of the first column of a page, f. 72, verso (there are two columns in each page), and the Canon of Autun comes at the top of the second column. Hence also it is evident that the omission cannot be accounted for by any loss of leaves or mutilation of the manuscript. And such a hypothesis is inadmissible in regard to the previous omission—where the Athanasian Creed is one of the documents passed over; for there the last passage cited under the head of testimonies to the Faith appears at the bottom of the recto side of a leaf, and the list of the Popes—the next document—commences at the top of the verso side of the same leaf. The last document in Chapter I. of the collection in this MS. is the Canon of Toledo, as in 3848 B. On turning to search for the disciplinary Canons of Autun in the fifty-first chapter, which has for its title: "De clericis, monachis, vel abbatibus," I was unable to find them, nor could I discover any mention of the chapter. A little examination served to convince me that here again another similar act of omission had been perpetrated. At the bottom of the recto side of f. 97, the forty-fifth chapter, "De venationibus," etc., commences, and the first Canon in the chapter—the fourth of Macon, as appears by comparison with 3848 B—is given.

Then, on the verso side of the same leaf, at the top, appears in large letters: "In sinodo Nicena hira. XII.," and the Canon commences: "Si quis in monasterio nutritur," etc. This is the last Canon of the fifty-first chapter, as is shown by 3848 B, and Petit's edition of the Herovall Collection. In this case, as in the former two, it will be noticed that the omission cannot be accounted for upon the hypothesis of a loss of leaves or mutilation of the volume. The scribe has evidently skipped over a great part of the forty-fifth chapter, the whole of the five following chapters, and most of the fifty-first; and the omission of the Athanasian Creed in the previous instance is evidently attributable to one and the same cause as that of the disciplinary Canons of Autun in this. These omissions are interesting, as instances of the grossly negligent way in which the old copyists sometimes did their work, as well as for their bearing upon our present subject; but there their significance ends. If any further evidence of the true account of these phenomena were requisite, it might be found in a comparison of Chapter XLIII. of the collection, as it appears in the two MSS.; all the Canons, except the first, in this chapter appearing in 2123 without their titles, which are omitted, and the title of the first being incorrectly given. And yet the MS. is an interesting specimen of caligraphy, the titles of the documents being written in large and magnificent, and often richly ornamented, letters, and in alternate lines of red and black. It was evidently a skilled artist who executed the titles, and he took

a pleasure in the display of his dexterity; but the scribe who copied out the text (for possibly the same hand was not employed upon both), disliking the drudgery of his work, shirked it as much as possible by omitting large portions. To proceed with the account of this manuscript. On f. 104 we have the Rubric: "De episcopis, qui hoc canones dictaverunt," the title of the seventy-first chapter of the collection, which is in reality nothing but the Angers Table of Councils in a condensed form. Here the table consists of twenty-six numbers, the last being, "Item Canones Lugdunenses episcoporum XX., priscus lugdunensis, siacrius eduorum, consensio et confirmatio domni leodegarii episcopi agustidunensis." This is evidently a combination and abbrevation of the two last numbers of the Angers Table. The rest of the Herovall Collection, embracing five chapters, is wanting. This, again, seems to be an omission similar to those previously noticed. There is no evidence of any loss of leaves. The next document, commencing on f. 105, recto, is an account of the six ages of the world, which concludes as follows:—"In simul ab initio usque ad Christum sunt anni V. CXCVI. Sexta etas ab Incarnatione Christi usque ad finem. In simul ab initio usque ad obitum Caroli imperatoris sunt VI. XII. anni." On the reverse of this leaf, the "Formulæ Marculfi" commence. This title, it should be observed, has been written in a modern hand at the top of f. 103, which, of course, is an error, and apt to mislead. A fragment, described by the catalogue as "De ponderibus et mensuris authore anonymo," closes

67774

the volume. The name of "Pithou" again appears on the last leaf.

The fact of Adrian I. being the last in the list of the Popes written in the original hand, together with the mention of the death of Charlemagne in the notice of the six ages, points to the inference that this manuscript was written between the death of Charlemagne, which occurred in January, 814, and the death of Leo III., the successor of Adrian I. in the Papacy, which occurred in June, 816. The present authorities of the Paris MS. department assign it to the latter half of the ninth century; Maassen names that century generally as its date; the old printed catalogue must be in error in putting it as late as the following century. The comparison of it with 3848 B, forced upon my mind the conviction that that MS. is in a great measure, *i.e.* as regards the common matter, the original from which it was copied. It is not merely that both manuscripts, as we have noticed, contain many of the same documents, arranged in the same order; but in the matter which they have in common they exhibit a remarkable amount of verbal, indeed literal, coincidence, the same barbarisms and solecisms, the same peculiarities of expression and clerical errors being noticeable in both. For instance, in Chapter II. of the collection, we have in both: "In vetere *testamentum* continentur," etc., and in the succeeding chapter: "Curandum ergo est et sacerdotale *diligentiam* maxime providendum," etc. The MSS. have *testamentu* and *diligentia*, with the mark of contraction in each case indicative of the omission

of the final *m*. As a specimen of the Latinity of these MSS., the following passage, being part of the account of the Sixth Council, may not be uninteresting:—"Resedentibus ibi duos patriarchas giorgio constantinopolitano et macharo anthiocheno heretico una cum episcopis orientalium CL. qui supradictus macharus agebat non esse in dominum nostrum ihesum christum duas nativitates neque duas operationes pro qua causa convenerant legati sedes apostolice presentantes locum beati Agathonis pape coram sinodum dicta venerabilium patrum," etc. The only difference here between the two MSS. is that the mark of contraction over the final letter of *locu* is omitted by 3848 B, of course inadvertently, whereas it is found in 2123.

This close resemblance and coincidence between the two MSS. can only be accounted for by one of two hypotheses: either that they were both copied from the same original, or that one was copied from the other. That 3848 B was not copied from 2123 is evident from the remarkable omissions which appear in the latter, as compared with the former, in the documents common to both. For, had 3848 B been the copy, and 2123 the original, these omissions which are found in the latter must have been reproduced in the former; but such is not the case. And had the two MSS. been copied from the same original, the resemblance would scarcely have been so close and literal as it is. But a conclusive proof that this alternative will not hold, and that 2123 was copied from 3848 B, is supplied by a circumstance which

I have noted in Appendix G, where the text of the second exposition of the Apostles' Creed, contained in these two manuscripts, is printed. A passage of that exposition, as it appears in 2123, is unintelligible, evidently owing to the omission of certain words; and the very words needful to supply the sense are found forming an entire line in 3848 B. Nothing can be clearer than that the copyist of 2123, in his haste or carelessness, overlooked this line.

The Paris Library contains two other manuscript copies of the Herovall Collection. They are numbered 4281 and 2400, and both belonged originally to the Abbey of St. Martial, at Limoges. With respect to the first of these, an express memorial of its former domicile is preserved in the following curious note, written upon the fly-leaf, in which the good monks of St. Martial have recorded their imprecation upon the man who should be tempted to steal the property of their patron and founder:—"Hic est liber sancti martialis: si quis eum furaverit, sit cum datan et abiran in infernum: responderunt omnes, amen." The MS. is of the ninth century. It is remarkable that in this copy the Canon of Autun is the only document in the first chapter of the collection which has for its title, "De fide catholica et simbolo;" the Canon of Toledo, which usually follows it in the Herovall Collection, being omitted. A kind of asterisk, together with the letters H D, *i.e. hic deficit* or *hic deest,* has been placed in the margin on purpose to note the omission. The Autun Canon appears here in the same form as in Paris, 3848 B, and the other

copies of the Herovall Collection; and in all other points bearing upon our subject, the MS. we are at present considering agrees substantially with that. The Autun Canons in the fifty-first chapter are numbered the same, viz., 1, 8, 6, 5, 10, 15. The MS. marked 2400 is of a later date—the eleventh century. As regards our subject, it presents no material difference from 3848 B. The title of the first chapter is given with some variation, as follows:—"De fide catholica et simbolo ut omni dominico decantentur," apparently applying to the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds the direction contained in the Canon of Toledo with respect to the Constantinopolitan. That Canon appears in the first chapter, together with the Autun; but nothing else is given there. The collection in this MS. is followed by a treatise, which recites the Apostles', the Nicene, and the Constantinopolitan Creeds, and mentions the Athanasian and other professions of Faith.

There are several points in these MSS. which call for notice in relation to the history of the Canon of Autun. First, in Paris, 1603, (which is necessarily of the greatest importance, inasmuch as the Angers Collection, of which it contains a copy, is the parent and chief source of the Herovall, and must, therefore, be the earlier of the two), it deserves to be noted: first, that the Autun Canon enjoining the recitation of the Athanasian Creed is expressly described by word as the first of the Autun Canons; secondly, that the Autun Canons in the forty-fifth chapter, relating to monastic discipline, are attributed to Leodegar;

thirdly, that these are numbered 1, 8, 6, 5, 10, 21; fourthly, that the last number or paragraph in the Table of Councils gives the subscription of Leodegar to the Canons of Autun. In the Paris MSS. of the Herovall Collection, it is to be noted: First, that in all of them the Autun Canon enjoining the recital of the Athanasian Creed appears in the first chapter, "De fide catholica," and is numbered I., but not verbally as in 1603. Secondly, that three out of the four contain the same disciplinary Canons of Autun, with one exception, as the Angers Collection in 1603. Their non-appearance in the fourth, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, is devoid of significance. Thirdly, that in all, the last number, or paragraph, of the Table of Councils, which in this collection precedes the Canons instead of forming one of the chapters as in the Angers, is as follows:—"Canones Augustudunensium Sancti Leodegarii episcopi." Fourthly, that in 3848 B, the dogmatic Definitions of the first five Œcumenical Councils and of the Lateran Synod of A.D. 649, appear in the first chapter before the Canon of Autun, and that some of these documents are inserted in the same place in 2123, the omission of the rest being clearly attributable to the wilful negligence of the copyist.

The conclusions resulting from these premisses are: first, that a Synod was held at Autun, under Leodegar, or St. Leger, at which certain Canons were enacted. True, we have no other record of the fact than that which is supplied by these and the other MSS. of the Angers and Herovall Collections. But their evidence

is amply sufficient, inasmuch as both collections contain several of the Canons enacted, and both accredit them to the authority of Leodegar. Indeed, the earliest of the two, as we have seen by Paris, 1603, preserves the actual subscription, *totidem verbis*, of Leodegar to the acts of Council, bearing, in its somewhat peculiar form, and its unusually explicit terms, the marks of life-like reality. Indeed, if the Paris MSS. were the only ancient manuscripts of these collections, their testimony would be sufficient. There is no reason to doubt it. The MSS. are ancient; the Canons and the subscription have every appearance of genuineness; to represent them as forgeries would be absurd. But the testimony of the Paris MSS. does not stand alone, being confirmed by the other MSS. of these collections; our present concern, however, is with the former only. Besides, it must be remembered that of all centuries in the Christian era, the seventh is perhaps the one from which the fewest literary remains have descended to us; so that there is the less reason for surprise at these collections being the only record extant of the Canons of Leodegar, or St. Leger.

Our next conclusion is that the Autun Canon enjoining the recital of the Athanasian Creed, as well as the Apostles', was the first of a series of Canons passed at Autun. It is so described in words in 1603, and it is numbered I. among the Autun Canons in all the manuscripts of the Herovall Collection.

Here the question arises—Was it the first of the same series of which we have some in the forty-fifth

chapter of the Angers Collection, and the fifty-first of the Herovall? We are led to answer this in the affirmative, by the fact that neither the Herovall nor the Angers Table of Councils make mention of more than one Synod of Autun, and that one the Synod of Bishop Leodegar. In the latter, his subscription simply is given; it is natural to suppose that this was his subscription to all the Autun Canons which are inserted in the collection—the one relating to the Creeds in the first chapter, as well as those relating to monastic discipline in a later chapter. In the former the reference is, "Canones Augustudunensium Sancti Leodegarii episcopi;" it is natural to suppose that this also was intended to apply to all the Autun Canons in the collection. For in neither table is any other Synod of Autun recorded as supplying Canons, besides that in the time of Leodegar; and in other instances, where more than one Synod of the same place have supplied Canons, distinct mention is made of them. And this conclusion seems to receive support from the title of the Table of Councils in the Angers Collection:—"De episcopis qui suprascriptos canones consenserunt et firmaverunt." Other Bishops of the Edui or of Autun are named as subscribing Canons of other Synods; none but Leodegar is named as subscribing Autun Canons.

It may be objected that in 1603, which possesses the highest authority as the manuscript of the earliest collection, the Autun Canons on monastic discipline in the chapter "De monachis," etc., are attributed to Leodegar by their title, whereas this is not the case

with the Canon respecting the Athanasian and the Apostles' Creeds, which is described simply as the first of the Autun Canons. But, although this is evidence that the disciplinary Canons were drawn up under Leodegar, it does not prove that such was not the case also with regard to the Canon concerning the Faith, especially in face of the far stronger proof on the affirmative side derived from the Table of Councils, to which attention has been drawn. Moreover, the Herovall MSS. do not follow 1603 in thus subjoining the name of Leodegar to the title of the disciplinary Canons.

Or it may be objected that, as the other Autun Canons in these collections relate to monastic discipline, this one could not have belonged to the same series, nor have been enacted by the same Synod. But this does not follow. On the contrary, as these disciplinary Canons are not more than six in number, and the last of them is numbered 21, it is clear there must have been other Canons belonging to the same series, which probably did not relate to monastic discipline, as the compiler of the collection would naturally select for the chapter "De clericis, monachis, abbatibus," those only which were relevant to the subject. And this is confirmed by the fact of another Autun Canon being known, which does not relate to monastic discipline, and is numbered differently from any of these Canons. It is given by Petrus de la Lande from a collection of Canons in the library of De Thou, and is as follows:—"Canon Augustodunensis, XIV. Sæculares vero qui Natale Domini, Pascha,

Pentecosten, non communicaverint, inter catholicos non habitent. Nullus presbyter confertus cibo aut crapulatus vino sacrificium contrectare aut missas facere præsumat, quod si quis præsumpserit, amittat honorem. Mulieres ad altare ingredi non oportet."[1] This is not described as one of Leodegar's Canons; but it may be assigned to their number with some probability in the absence of any record of any Autun Synod besides that at which they were enacted.

Another objection, and a far more serious one, has been raised by the Rev. E. S. Ffoulkes; indeed, it is the only one involving any real difficulty. Mr. Ffoulkes has argued that this Canon respecting the Creeds cannot be rightly assigned to Leodegar, because it is described as the first of the Autun Canons, and one of the disciplinary Canons is also so described; and the fact of their both being numbered the same proves that they were not passed by the same Synod. Two solutions of the difficulty suggest themselves. First, it is very possible that two or even more Synods may have been held at Autun during the episcopate of Leodegar, and the Canon respecting the Creeds have been adopted at one, those relating to monastic discipline at another. Still, as has been before remarked, the Tables of Councils do not mention more than one Synod of Autun held under Leodegar, and seem to refer all the Autun Canons comprised in the two collections to the same Synod. Moreover, the same peculiar form of subscription would scarcely have been used more than once. The

[1] LABBE, 'Concil.' tom. xi. pp. 125, 126. Edit. 1765.

other solution, therefore, seems preferable, viz., that it is by no means improbable, considering how very frequently numerals are the subjects of error, that a mistake has been made in the numbering of the first in order of the disciplinary Canons, and such a mistake might be suggested to a copyist by its commencement as it appears in the original form in the Angers Collection: "Primus titulus hic est monasticae disciplinae." A like hypothesis with respect to the Canon ordering the recital of the Creeds is precluded by the fact of its being described *verbally* in 1603, the Paris MS. copy of the earlier of the two collections, as the first of the Autun Canons. Besides, a Canon touching the Faith would be always passed first, and take precedence of the rest; whereas it is most improbable that this would be the case with a Canon relating to monastic discipline, when a Synod dealt with a variety of subjects.

Thus there is good and sufficient reason for believing this celebrated Canon to have been made during the episcopate of St. Leger, which commenced A.D. 661, and ended with his death, A.D. 678. The evidence is such as may fairly be relied upon—quite as strong as is often relied upon in more important matters even than this. But whether it can be proved or not to have been one of his Canons is really of very little moment as regards the question of its antiquity, which is the only point of real importance in reference to the history of the Athanasian Creed. For, supposing the negative could be proved, the Canon must still be placed in the seventh century; it must have

been passed either at a Synod of Autun held prior to Leodegar's episcopate, or at one held after his death but not later than the end of the seventh century; and thus its antiquity would be reduced by about twenty years at the most. For the Angers Collection could not, from the fact of its being the source of the Herovall, which is determined to the middle of the eighth century, have been compiled later than the early part of that century.[1] But it is next to certain that it was not compiled later than the end of the seventh century, and it may be assigned not improbably to the lifetime of Leodegar. Mr. Ffoulkes has remarked upon the contrast between the references to the Autun Canons in the table of this collection and in that of the Herovall, inasmuch as in the latter that bishop is described as "saint," but in the former he is simply Bishop Leodegar; and he continues: "What can it possibly mean? It means unquestionably that this collection" (*i.e.* the Herovall) "was, *in its original shape*, framed during the lifetime of Bishop Leodegar, when he would not, of course, be styled saint."[2] The italics are Mr. Ffoulkes's. It is very remarkable that this writer should thus unwittingly have suggested evidence of the antiquity of the Angers Collection, of the existence of which he was at the time unaware, and therefore also evidence of the antiquity of the Autun Canon—the very point he was seeking to disprove. For what is the Angers Collec-

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' by Rev. G. D. W. Ommanney, pp. 254, 255.

[2] 'On the Athanasian Creed,' p. 289.

tion but the Herovall in *its original shape*—the main source from which it was derived? And if the reference to the Autun Canons in the Angers Table of Councils, in the abbreviated form in which it is given in the Herovall Collection, viz., "Consensio et confirmatio Leodegarii episcopi Augustudunensis" (and in this form alone it was known to Mr. Ffoulkes), affords probable evidence that the earlier collection was drawn up in the time of Leodegar, in its original and complete form, which includes his actual subscription to the Canons, it adds confirmation to this evidence. It is the only instance in the table of a bishop's subscription being recorded *totidem verbis*; in the case of other Councils, simply the numbers of the subscribing bishops are mentioned, with some of their names. It is a life-like touch from the hand of the compiler, leaving upon the mind the impression that he must have been, if not St. Leger himself, at any rate a contemporary of his, who had ready access to the archives of the Church of Autun. It is very possible indeed that the collection may have existed in substance prior to Leodegar's episcopate, and was only completed in his time, or soon after, by the insertion of the Autun Canons and the addition to the table of his subscription to them; for, with their exception, the latest Canon which it contains is one passed at the Third Council of Toledo, held A.D. 589, and the latest Father cited in it is Isidore of Seville, who died A.D. 636. Of course, if the Angers Collection was drawn up during the episcopate of Leodegar, then the Canon respecting the Creeds must have

been enacted before that, supposing it not to have been passed at a Synod presided over by him, or at which he was present. But there are sufficient grounds, as we have seen, for regarding it as one of that bishop's Canons.

In the present state of our knowledge respecting the Synod of Autun held in the time of St. Leger, or St. Leodegar, it is impossible to determine, with any certainty, the precise date when it took place. Much variety of opinion has been expressed by the learned on this point. Sirmond assigns the year 670 as the date; Le Cointe, 669; Mabillon, in one place 665, in another 675 or 676; Mansi, 677; D. Bastide, 663; D. Ruinart, the authors of 'Gallia Christiana,' and Pagi, 661.[1] Dom Pitra, who follows the general opinion that all the Autun Canons belong to this same Synod, accepts the last-mentioned date, considering that the Synod was celebrated at the commencement of Leodegar's episcopate, with the twofold purpose of correcting ecclesiastical irregularities of a serious nature, which were then prevalent; and of combating the errors of Monotheletism, which had created a deep agitation in the Gallican Church, and had previously been debated and condemned in Councils assembled at Chalons and Nantes and Orleans.[2] He does not, however, allege any positive evidence in support of his opinion, either with regard to the date of the Synod or the occasion of enacting the celebrated Canon ordering the recital of the Apostles' and the Athan-

[1] Dom Pitra, 'Histoire de St. Leger,' p. 170, note.
[2] Ibid. pp. 173, 174.

asian Creeds by the clergy. And the conjecture that the Canon was elicited by the struggle against Monotheletism is most improbable, for the simple reason that neither of these Creeds contains anything specifically applicable to that heresy or critically condemnatory of it. With regard to the date of the Synod of Autun, it cannot with any show of reason be placed subsequent to the murder of King Childeric, in 673. That event was the death-blow to Leodegar's influence—indeed, to his liberty; the effect of it was to transfer to the hands of his rival and opponent, Ebroin, the power which he had himself previously exercised as Mayor of the Palace in the kingdom of Neustria; during the rest of his life he was powerless, and at times oppressed and persecuted. In 676 his brother Gerinus was stoned by order of Ebroin, and himself cast into prison at Fiscamnus; and in 678 he is said to have been beheaded, after being subjected to much ill treatment.[1] It is inconceivable, therefore, that the Synod, which was guided, if not presided over, by him, and with which his name has been ever associated, could have been held in 676 or 677, as some, we see, have supposed. Besides, neither of the Conventions, or Synods, assigned to those years appears to have taken place at Autun, the one being held at a place called Christiacus, the other at Marlacus. Leodegar's Synod may have been held at the commencement of his episcopate; but with greater probability it may be set down to the reign of Childeric

[1] Bouquet, 'Recueil des Historiens des Gaules,' tom. iii. pp. 73–77.

in Neustria, from 670 to 673, during which he exercised, as Mayor of the Palace, the chief administration of the realm.

The preface to the Oratorian Commentary, which was, there can be little doubt, composed in Gaul, is of considerable interest in relation to the Canon of Autun. For it alludes to the fact of the Athanasian Creed being commonly recited in churches at the time, and more studied than other similar works by the presbyters of the diocese or country. It also alludes apparently to the express wish of the bishop, that his clergy should be required to study the Commentary, which had been compiled by his direction; and it goes on to specify the purpose of the requirement, viz., to improve and augment their theological knowledge, which is represented as being at a low ebb. Looking, therefore, to the date of the Oratorian Commentary, this preface would lead us to regard it as a thing antecedently probable, even were there no positive evidence of the Autun Canon belonging to the seventh century, that the clergy in Gaul, or at least in parts of it, should have been canonically obliged at that epoch to learn the Quicunque vult, that they might be able to recite it in divine service. Hence, it is by no means improbable that other local Canons containing the same injunction as that of Autun may have been enacted in the same century, and have perished in the vast destruction of ancient literary documents, which has resulted from various causes in the lapse of time. And in point of fact, it must be remembered that, according to those learned canonists,

the brothers Ballerini, the Autun Canon is not the earliest canonical authority, even now extant, for the recital of the Athanasian Creed.[1]

It is very remarkable that in Paris, 3848 B, which is probably the earliest and best manuscript of the Herovall Collection, the dogmatic Definitions of the first five General Councils and of the Lateran Synod, under Pope Martin, held A.D. 649 (which condemned Monotheletism), including, of course, the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, appear in the first chapter of the collection, "De fide catholica," immediately before the Canon of Autun. And if Paris, 2123, does not give all these documents, the omission is attributable to the negligence of the scribe, those which come first in order down to the Rubric respecting the Definition of Chalcedon, appearing precisely as they are found in 3848 B. What is the account of this? For the Herovall Collection, being compiled in the eighth century, if it contained in its chapter "De fide catholica" any Definitions of General Councils, might have been expected to contain those of the *six* earliest. Baronius says[2] that, at the Lateran Council, under Pope Martin, were recited: first, the Nicene Symbol; then the Constantinopolitan; afterwards the twelve chapters, or Anathematisms, which the Council of Ephesus issued for the defence of the Catholic Faith, viz., the Anathematisms of St. Cyril of Alexandria;

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' by G. D. W. OMMANNEY, pp. 312, 313; also 'Editorum Observationes in Dissertationem, ii. P. Quesnelli,' iii. 2, in GALLAND'S 'Sylloge Dissertationum.'

[2] 'Annales An. 649,' sect. 21, 22.

and in addition to these, the Definition of the Catholic Faith made in the Council of Chalcedon; and the fourteen chapters drawn up by the Fifth Council. And he continues, that this Council, or Synod, under Martin, was accepted by the whole Catholic world with great approval and honour, so that the faithful in Synod used to subjoin the confession which emanated from it to those of the five earliest General Councils, thus declaring their adhesion to the Catholic Faith—an instance of which is to be found in the Anglican Synod held under Archbishop Theodore; and they persevered in this practice until the complete promulgation of the Sixth Œcumenical Council. The Definitions of the first five Councils thus recited by the Lateran Council, and the Canons or Anathemas exacted by it, are the very documents which are inserted in the first chapter of the Herovall Collection immediately before the Autun Canon, as it appears in Paris, 3848 B. And the circumstance is here accounted for. The acts of the Roman Synod were transmitted to the Bishops of Gaul, whose attention had already been attracted to the subject of Monotheletism. In the year 650 a numerous Synod of bishops assembled at Chalon-sur-Saône, and accepted the conclusions of the Roman Synod. The heresy of the age could not fail to be a subject of thought and debate in so important a city and diocese as Autun, and when the Synod assembled there under its eminent bishop, before proceeding to any other business, or passing any new Canons, it would necessarily, in accordance with the practice of Catholic Synods at

that period, declare its mind on this point by reaffirming the Definitions of the first five Councils, as the Lateran Synod had done, and also expressly accepting the Canons or Anathemas of that Council. These documents would appear in the records of the Synod at the commencement of its proceedings prior to the Canons that were passed; and from thence it would seem not improbable that the compiler of the Herovall Collection, or the scribe who wrote Paris, 3848. B, may have copied them with the first Canon. What makes it the more likely that the Synod of Autun should have taken some notice of Monotheletism, is that a teacher of the heresy had endeavoured to disseminate his errors at that place, as well as at Orleans and Chalons.[1] The Synod of Theodore, mentioned by Baronius, was held in September, 680, at Haethfelth. He seems to have selected it as the last instance of a Synod prior to the Sixth Œcumenical Council, which commenced its sessions in November of the same year, and concluded in September of the next.[2]

[1] Dom Pitra, 'Histoire de St. Leger,' p. 173.

[2] Hook's 'Archbishops of Canterbury,' vol. i. pp. 161, 162.

SERMONS ON THE APOSTLES' CREED.

THERE is some evidence of the early existence of the Athanasian Creed, which as yet has not received the attention it deserves, to be found in sermons on the Apostles' Creed addressed to catechumens at the "Traditio Symboli" previous to baptism. It has been mentioned already that copies of two sermons of this description are contained in the Paris MSS. 3848 B and 2123. The Rubric to the first is, "Sermo antequam symbolum tradatur;" to the second, "Item expositio fidei." It is the second of these which is relevant to our subject. It receives much illustration by comparison with a discourse, clearly used upon the same occasion, in the fourth appendix to St. Augustine, No. 244—a work attributed by the Benedictine editors to Cæsarius of Arles. Not only do these two discourses deal with the same subject, but they exhibit a close relation of treatment and, in places, of language, so much so that, in the commencement and the conclusion, they present very little variation. But they are not the same, as I have before said. This will be obvious, as regards the expository portion, with which alone we are concerned, to any one who will take the trouble to

compare the two.[1] The verbal correspondence, it will be observed, is almost limited to the opening sentence. Each contains some matter, and remarkable matter, that is not in the other. In particular, the sermon in the Paris MSS. introduces, after the article concerning the Holy Spirit, an exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity, illustrating it by the analogies of fire, flame, and heat, and of fire, light, and motion, which has no place in the other discourse. But what especially discriminates the two is, that they are based upon different types of the Apostles' Creed; and the one in the Paris manuscripts clearly follows the earlier type, and must, therefore, be the earlier work. The discourse of the Paris manuscripts passes over in silence the words "passus" and "mortuus," and the articles, "descendit ad inferna," "sanctorum communionem," and "vitam æternam;" all of which are mentioned and noted in the discourse attributed to Cæsarius. The latter discourse, or sermon, is adduced by Waterland and others as containing some of the language of the Athanasian Creed; and it is impossible to help tracing some of the first and second clauses in the opening sentence, which is almost word for word identical with that of the cognate discourse in the Paris MSS. "Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quicunque vult salvus esse, fidem rectam ac catholicam discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet." And the preacher continues to employ the terminology of the Quicunque, both of the first part relating to the Trinity,

[1] See Appendix G, where both are given.

and of the second relating to the Incarnation: "Ita ergo oportet unicuique observare, ut credat Patrem, credat Filium, credat Spiritum Sanctum. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus; sed tamen non tres Dii, sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis, quod Filius æqualis est Patri secundum divinitatem et minor est Patri secundum humanitatem carnis." Did this language stand alone, we should scarcely be justified in asserting it to be derived from the Athanasian Creed, which, in employing it, does but echo the teaching of early Catholic doctors, especially of St. Augustine; but taken in connection with the peculiar expressions from the commencement of the Creed, occurring immediately before, it is difficult to avoid tracing it to the same source. The relation of this discourse to the Quicunque vult has been pointed out by previous writers, as already mentioned. The similar discourse in the Paris MSS. has completely escaped notice, to the best of my knowledge, in the same point of view. But if the one borrows from that Creed, so does the other, the exordium, or opening sentence, being the same in both, with the exception of the word "discat," which is not found in the latter. Then the discourse in the Paris MSS. adds after "conservet," the following:—"Quam si quis digne non habuerit, regnum Dei non possidebit." It may be, the preacher deemed these words might be addressed more suitably to unbaptized persons receiving their first instruction in the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, than the

more plain admonition, in which the Creed wisely and lovingly warns the instructed Christian of the final penalty of rejecting the Faith, with which he is familiar: "Absque dubio in æternum peribit." He remembered that strong meat is not for babes. This discourse next proceeds at once, unlike the other, to inculcate a belief in the articles of the Apostles' Creed successively. The subjoined comment on the article, "conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary," may be noted for its similarity to a clause of the Anathasian Creed: "Hoc est sine matre de patre Deus ante secula, et homo de matre sine patre carnali in finem seculorum." The exposition of the doctrine of the Trinity is introduced by the words, "Pater Deus est et Filius Deus est et Spiritus Sanctus Deus est, et non sunt tres Dii, sed unus est Deus," which in the other discourse occur before the mention of the articles of the Apostles' Creed, together with other sentences also apparently from the Athanasian Symbol. What are the respective dates of these discourses? The absence of any mention of the article, "Creatorem cœli et terræ," and of the word "omnipotentis" after "Patris," in that printed in the appendix to St. Augustine, shows that it cannot be of a later date than the sixth century; and if the Benedictines are right in assigning it to Cæsarius of Arles, it must have been composed before A.D. 543, the year of that bishop's death. And the article, "the communion of saints," being found in it, is no ground for assigning a later date, inasmuch as that article appears in the Creed as expounded by Nicetas,

Bishop of Aquileia, in the middle of the fifth century, in an address to candidates for baptism, and also as expounded in a homily by Faustus, Bishop of Riez in Provence, towards the end of the same century.[1] The former of these addresses seems to have been overlooked by Dr. Heurtley, in his valuable 'Harmonia Symbolica;' the latter is attributed by him to Eusebius Gallicanus; but Hahn unhesitatingly ascribes it to Faustus, following the authorities of Oudin, Coustant, and the writers of the 'Histoire Littéraire de la France.' The discourse, or sermon, in the Paris MSS., as has been already mentioned, seems clearly prior in date to that attributed to Cæsarius, inasmuch as it follows an earlier type of the Apostles' Creed; which shows that it cannot be later than the beginning of the sixth century, and points to the latter part of the preceding century as the more probable date of its composition. Both were, there can be little doubt, of Gallican origin; and looking to this circumstance, and their date, and the occasion of their use, as instructions at the "Traditio Symboli," it is not uninteresting to notice that, by the Canon of Agde, which appears in the first chapter of the Angers Collection, and which was passed A.D. 506, that ceremony was ordered to be observed on Palm Sunday.

The fragment found at Trèves, of which a copy has been preserved in Paris, Latin, 3836, may be fitly compared with these two expositions. For it is clearly part of a document of the same class, and therefore serves to illustrate them, as it is itself illustrated by them.

[1] HAHN, 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' pp. 26, 39.

Like them, the document of which this is a portion must have been a sermon, or instruction, addressed to catechumens preparatory to baptism, at the "Traditio Symboli." This is evident from the words, "sicut vobis in symbolo traditum est," introduced just after "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet," and "secundum fidem nostram" immediately before "passus."[1] Like them also, it adapts the language of the Athanasian Creed, does not quote it; for there is but a resemblance, not an identity, of language, not a single clause being reproduced without some variation. But, notwithstanding the verbal diversity between the Trèves fragment and the Creed, which is upon the whole considerable, it is evident that the one was built upon the lines of the other. The substantial resemblance is clear and obvious, more so, indeed, than in the case of the two other discourses, as it is traceable through a larger portion of the Creed—not less than thirteen verses, almost the whole of the portion relating to the Incarnation. The mind of the preacher appears to have been so familiar with the Quicunque, that in his instruction respecting this great mystery, he was naturally led to adopt its framework and, to a certain extent, its language. Had we the document in its integrity, we might find that he pursued the same system in inculcating the doctrine of the Trinity. It must be remembered that

[1] See 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 229, 230; also p. 353. In the copy of the document upon the last-mentioned page, and in the last line but one, there is a serious error of the press: "nobis" *for* "vobis."

this discourse, or address, cannot be of a later date than the seventh century, and may be earlier, and upon internal evidence has been assigned by Waterland to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth. Thus we have three sermons, or discourses, either whole or in a fragmentary condition, making the same kind of use of the Athanasian Creed, the connection of one of them with it being unmistakable, that of the others, though not so clear, yet highly probable; and not one of them is later than the seventh century. This surely is evidence of the Creed's antiquity, reaching up as high as the sixth and fifth centuries, which is entitled to consideration.

I cannot pass from this topic without noticing the false arguments and conclusions which have been founded upon this Trèves fragment, frequently described, but most incorrectly, as the Colbertine MS. of the Athanasian Creed. If it is not a copy of the Creed, nor of any portion of it, but of a portion of a sermon, or address, as it certainly is, it would be clearly absurd to seek in it for the true and original text of the Creed, or to make use of its peculiar readings for the correction of the ordinary text, as we were gravely recommended to do a few years ago by a Committee of the Upper House of Convocation. Still more, to assume without a shadow of proof, as Dr. Swainson, and Dr. Lumby, following in his steps, have done, that this fragment, which is but a part of a discourse, the rest of which having perished is entirely unknown to us, was the groundwork of the latter part of the Creed, and that some nameless

individual united it with another separate document in the ninth century, and thus constructed the Creed as we now have it,—this is an instance of the wildest theorizing.[1] And the scholars who maintain this hypothesis, with obvious inconsistency deny that this document is the Creed, and assert its true character, their contention being that the Creed, in its original purpose and construction, was a discourse; in support of which they allege some instances from antiquity of its being described as a "Sermo." But so is the Apostles' Creed described as a "Sermo," in an address at the "Traditio Symboli," in an ancient Gallican Sacramentary, published by Mabillon, from a MS. of the seventh century;[2] and it is also so described by so early an authority as Ruffinus.[3] They argue, moreover, that the Creed could not have been generally known at the time when the scribe met with the fragment at Trèves, viz., the early part of the eighth century, because the contents of the latter seemed to be new to him. But the Trèves fragment not being a copy of the Athanasian Creed, it is quite within the bounds of possibility that he may have been perfectly familiar with the latter, though unacquainted with the contents of the former. With the evidence of the Autun Canon before us, it is undeniable that, in some parts of France, at least, the

[1] LUMBY, 'History of the Creeds,' p. 216; SWAINSON, 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 264, 265; also 'Plea for Time,' etc., pp. 44–47.

[2] MURATORI, 'Liturgia Romana,' p. 831.

[3] 'Brevialis hic Sermo Symboli;' RUFFINI, 'Commentarius in Symbolum.'

Quicunque was required to be learnt by clerks before the eighth century. But we do not know for certain that this scribe was a clerk.

Since writing the above, my sense of the importance of the point at issue has induced me to show in detail, by a comparison of the two documents, that the Trèves fragment was founded upon the Athanasian Creed, according to the view which I have here, as on a former occasion, asserted, and therefore that the contrary hypothesis of Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby is untenable. The proof of my position I believe amounts to demonstration. It will be found at a subsequent stage of this work in the form of an *excursus* on the relation between the two documents.

EARLY VERNACULAR VERSIONS OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

I AM indebted to the kindness of the Rev. W. D. Macray, of the Bodleian Library, for drawing my attention to a little work edited at Hanover in 1713, under the following title:—"Incerti monachi Weissenburgensis Catechesis Theotisca sæculo IX. conscripta, nunc vero primum edita, . . . in unum collegit ac præfatione . . . illustravit. . . . J. Georgius Eccardus." It consists of the Lord's Prayer, a list of "Peccata criminalia," the Apostles' Creed, the Athanasian, and the Gloria in excelsis, each with a German translation. In the preface the editor says: "Opusculum quod ex vetusto et circa seculi noni medium exarato codice membranaceo Gwelferbytanæ nunc edimus, Theotiscam Catechesim inscripsimus;" and further on: "Ætatis Carolinæ esse Catechesim, quam hic primi edimus, vel apices codicis manuscripti adspicienti manifestum est. Stylus ipse Theotiscus medio sæculi noni ævo apprimè convenit, ut judicabunt omnes in lectione talium monumentorum periti. Primo codicis folio inscripta erant hæc verba: *Codex Monasterii Petri et Pauli in Wissenburg.*" This was a Benedictine Abbey founded

in 624 by Dagobert. In the judgment, therefore, of Eccard, this work belongs to the middle of the ninth century, the grounds of his opinion being the style of the German in which the documents contained in it are rendered, and the date of the manuscript from which he edited it; and he conjectures that it may have been drawn up at the Council of Maintz, A.D. 847, possibly by Otfrid. He states that in the MS. the Quicunque vult is introduced without any title; but that a Commentary upon it, which appears in the same MS., is entitled, "Expositio super fidem catholicam *quicunque vult salvus esse*," by which he adds it is distinguished from the "Fides Catholica Hieronymi," which is another document comprised in the same codex. He also mentions in the preface that in the tenth century Notkerus Balbulus subjoined a German translation of the Athanasian Creed to his paraphrase of the Psalms; and he gives an account of the various testimonies to its antiquity known in his day, all of which, with one or two exceptions of no moment, are noticed by Waterland. The early German version of the Quicunque, thus edited by Eccard, has been also recently edited by Massman, from the MS. at Wolfenbüttel (Latinized Guelferbitana); and the latter agrees with the former in assigning the manuscript to the ninth century. And together with this version, Massman has edited that of Notker from a MS. at Vienna. It should be noted that Eccard merely suggests the conjecture that Otfrid may have been the author of the version in the Catechesis Theotisca. "Monachus Weissen-

bergensis sive Otfridus sive quis alius." A third and later German version is edited by Massman, together with the two before mentioned from two Munich manuscripts.[1]

Thus there are extant several ancient German translations of the Quicunque, one being as early as the middle of the ninth century. It is a circumstance of considerable interest and moment in the history of this Creed, that at so early a period it was not only used and recited by the clergy in Germany, but was also employed as a manual of popular devotion and instruction in that country. For had it been intended solely for the clergy, there would have been no need or occasion for putting out a vernacular translation of it together with one of the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed. Dr. Swainson says that the Wolfenbüttel MS., before referred to, is assigned by Massman to the eighth century; but in this assertion he is certainly mistaken. It may not be amiss here to remind my readers that Waterland adduces as evidence of the popular use of the Creed in Gaul in the middle of the ninth century the order of Hincmar's Capitulum, that presbyters should be able to explain it in "communibus verbis," or in the vernacular language, and as evidence of the same circumstance in England in the tenth century, an Anglo-Saxon version of it in a MS. of that date in the Lambeth Library, numbered 427—a Psalter. In the British Museum MS. Reg. 2, B. V. already men-

[1] MASSMAN, 'Die Deutschen Abschwörungs,' Leipsig, 1839, pp. 40, 30, also 88–107.

tioned, which belongs to the early part of that century, the Quicunque appears with interlinear notes in Saxon. It has a Saxon interlinear gloss, or version, also in another British Museum MS.—Arundel, 60—a Psalter written at the end of the eleventh century, in Wessex, probably at Winchester. In the Eadwine Psalter, executed at Canterbury, it has a Norman, as well as a Saxon, interlinear version.

THE ATHANASIAN CREED RECITED DAILY IN SOME CHURCHES IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

MARTENE states that in the church of St. Martin at Tours, in the year 922, it was determined, with the consent of the whole Chapter, that the brethren should sing "Catholicam fidem quam Sanctus Athanasius Spiritu Sancto dictante composuit, id est, Quicunque vult salvus," etc., at Prime, as well on festivals as every day. This clearly implies that it was sung in that church daily before that year. The same writer also asserts, upon the authority of Udalricus, that the Cluniacs, whose rule was instituted in the early part of this century, as well as the Carthusians, were in the habit of reciting it daily.[1] The "Appendix actorum veterum" to the note of Baluze on "Regino de Ecclesiasticis disciplinis" contains an "admonitio synodalis antiqua," to be read by the deacon, after the Gospel, in the presence of the bishop and others, seated in due order. This "admonitio" directs the clergy to chant the Athanasian

[1] MARTENE, 'De Antiquis Ritibus Ecclesiæ,' lib. iv. cap. viii. The statement of Udalricus, referred to, is in lib. i. cap. iii. of his 'Consuetudines Cluniacenses,' which are printed in MIGNE'S 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cxlix.

Creed every day, as well as to learn it by heart. Baluze states that it was edited by him in an amended form from two very ancient manuscripts. "Very ancient manuscripts" could not be deemed later than the tenth century.[1]

[1] See MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cxxxii. pp. 456–462.

MANUSCRIPTS NOT PREVIOUSLY NOTICED.

IN addition to the manuscripts and documents already noticed, several others, illustrating in some degree the history of the Athanasian Creed, some of them of considerable interest and importance, have been brought to my knowledge or been examined by me. These I proceed to notice, so far as they relate to our subject, in the order of time, beginning with the latest.

Canonic. Eccl. 88, Bodleian Library.

This is a Psalter of the eleventh century. The Psalms are followed by the apocryphal 151st Psalm, with the same Rubric which appears in the Utrecht Psalter: "Et hic psalmus proprie scriptus est a David et extra numerum est, cum pugnavit contra Goliam, et in ebreis codicibus non habetur, sed nec a LXX. interpretibus editus est." The Utrecht Psalter adds, "et idcirco repudiandus." Then follow the usual Old Testament Canticles, with a note of the day of the week on which each was used. Thus the song of Isaiah, "Confitebor tibi," is assigned to the second "feria," the song of Hezekiah to the third,

the song of Hannah to the fourth, the song of Moses from Exodus, "Cantemus Domino," to the fifth, the song of Habakkuk to the sixth, the song of Moses from Deuteronomy, "Attende celum," to the last—"Sabbato." Then come in succession the Benedicite, entitled "Ymnum trium puerorum;" the Benedictus; the Magnificat; the Gloria in excelsis, entitled, "Ymnum angelorum." It is worthy of remark that the words in this hymn, "Qui sedes ad dexteram patris, miserere nobis," are preceded by the Rubric, "Jacob, frater Domini, hierosolymitamus addidit;" and the conclusion, "Quoniam tu solus," etc., by another Rubric, "Cyrillus Alexandrinus adjunxit." Then the Nunc dimittis; then the Apostles' Creed, entitled "Fides Apostolorum," with the names of the Apostles to whom the articles were severally ascribed added in Rubric; then the Creed of Constantinople, with the Filioque clause, entitled "Fides patrum;" the Lord's Prayer; the Te Deum, with the following added at the end:—"Te decet laus, te decet ymnus, tibi gloria Deo Patri et Filio cum Spiritu Sancto in secula seculorum. Amen;" and, lastly, the Athanasian Creed, entitled, "Fides Anathasii episcopi." The various readings will be found in Appendix, Note I. It is followed by a prayer: "Domine Deus omnipotens, qui es trimus in personis et unus in deitate, conditor natritor, gubernator et moderator meus, te adoro, te laudo, te glorifico, tibi gratias ago, tibi sit laus et gloria et omnis honor per aeterna ac sempiterna secula seculorum. Amen. Deus piè exaudi." In this Psalter the Psalms and

Canticles are all followed by a prayer; the former are also preceded by an explanation. Then the Rubric, "Consumatio psalmodie." So that the Lord's Prayer and the Creeds are included in the Psalmody. Then follows an intercessory prayer; then a prayer before the Litany; then the Litany; then other prayers and invocations, in which the saints of the Old Testament, beginning with Abel and including Gideon and Samson, are invoked as well as those of the New. There are added several forms of private prayer to be used after the recitation of the Psalter. They are curious, as showing the great importance, the almost sacramental character, which was attributed in the Middle Ages to this office. The following is among them:—"Creator mundi, cuncta potens Deus, spes credentium, gloria fideliter resurgentibus, per hos psalmos clementian tuam imploro, quos in memoriam famuli tui decantavi, ut si fieri potest a perpetuis tormentis eum eruas et tue beatudinis glorie participem esse concedas, per," etc. The Psalms are preceded by a good deal of matter from St. Jerome, St. Augustine, Bede, and Damasus, and a calendar.

On the fly-leaf there is a note in Latin, written in a modern hand, stating that the Litanies are for Benedictine use; and that from the saints of the calendar and the Litanies, the Psalter appears to have belonged to a monastery in Gaul. Some evidences that it was intended for use in a Benedictine monastery came under my observation. Thus in the Litany, St. Benedict is the only saint invoked whose

name is written in capital letters, and St. Maurus, his coadjutor in the government of the monastery of Subiaco, and the reputed founder of the Abbey St. Maur-sur-Loire, comes next in order, and then St. Placidus, another of his most celebrated disciples; and in one of the prayers at the end, after the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and St. Michael, that of St. Benedict is immediately mentioned, express mention being made of none other; and in the Litany, the following petitions occur:—"Ut locum istum visitare atque defendere digneris;" "ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conservare digneris."

This Psalter is interesting as a specimen of the Psalters of the period to which it belongs; and for this reason I have given a somewhat detailed account of its contents. The title applied by it to the Athanasian Creed, viz., "Fides Anathasii episcopi," is particularly noticeable, because it gives support to the conjecture of Waterland, that it was owing to a mistake of the copyists, in transposing the letters of the word "Athanasius," that the Creed was attributed to Anastasius—a circumstance which he had observed in German copies for five or six hundred years, and of which several instances occur in the Oxford MS. previously mentioned, Laud, 493. But it seems also to show that the first step in the error was not the substitution of Anasthasius, as he supposes, but (that which would occur more easily and simply) of Anathasius for Athanasius. Then, by the insertion of an *s*, the word was changed to Anasthasius, as it is

found in a MS. belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The last step was to omit the *h*, in order to arrive at the more common and better-known name of Anastasius.

This MS. was unknown to Waterland. In fact, the Canonici MSS. are a comparatively recent acquisition of the Bodleian Library, having been purchased in 1817. They were originally collected by Matheo Luigi Canonici, an Italian Jesuit, who died in 1805 or 1806.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, 11,550.

This is a large and magnificent Psalter of the eleventh century, formerly the property of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, as we learn from a memorandum on the first page: "Bibliotheca S. Germani a Pratis, Psalterium cum explicationibus ad margines appositis, Hymni, Cantica, Litaniæ amplissimæ cum orationibus plurimis." It is written in three columns, the text occupying the central one, the notes, or exposition, those on each side. The Psalter is preceded by the treatises commencing, "Beatus igitur David rex magnus," and "Origo prophetiæ David regis." These are followed immediately by two pictures. The first is of the Crucifixion, painted on a purple ground, and covering the whole page. Our Lord is crowned, His head surrounded with a nimbus, His body vested from the waist to the feet, each foot nailed separately, the arms not hanging down at all, but stretched straight along the transverse beams of the cross. At the foot of the cross, on each side, stand

the Blessed Virgin and St. John, each with a nimbus. Above are the sun and moon, the former represented as a man with rays of light issuing from his head, the latter as a female with a half-moon upon her head and a staff in her left hand. The letters A and ω also appear above the cross. Around are the Evangelistic symbols. The other picture, which is on the next leaf, represents David with a harp in his hand, surrounded by musicians and singers. The initial B of the first Psalm is very large, occupying almost an entire page; it is very elaborately decorated with interlacings and leaves, and is painted in red and yellow on a green ground; surrounding it is an ornamental border. Each Psalm has a prayer subjoined. The "Pusillus eram" appears after the 150th Psalm. The usual Old Testament Canticles follow; then, successively, the Benedicite, closing with the words, "Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum Spiritu Sancto, laudemas et superexaltemus eum in sæcula;" the Te Deum, entitled, "Hymnus et oratio in laude Domini;" the Benedictus; the Magnificat; the Nunc dimittis; the Gloria in excelsis, entitled, "Laus Angelica;" the Lord's Prayer; the Apostles' Creed; and, lastly, the Athanasian, introduced by the Rubric: "Incipit Fides Catholica a Sancto Athanasio episcopo edita." The Gloria Patri is added at the end. The collations of the text will be found in Appendix, Note I. There are no notes, or exposition, annexed to the Quicunque, nor to the Benedicite, nor to the Te Deum; the Old Testament Canticles are also without them. So that the manuscript would seem to be

incomplete, as it was probably intended to add them. They are found with all the other Canticles, as well as with the Psalms, the Gloria in excelsis, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. After the Athanasian Creed, follow a great number of hymns for various occasions, for daily use, and for festivals and holy days; then a long Litany, and some prayers close the volume. Among the petitions in the Litany are the following:—"Ut domnum apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesiæ in sancta religione conservare digneris;" "ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris;" "ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione conservare digneris."

PARIS, 2341.

A bulky volume, comprising apparently three originally distinct volumes, but written throughout in handwriting of the same character. By the catalogue, it is assigned to the ninth century; but by the present authorities of the MS. department at the Bibliothèque Nationale, it is held to be of the tenth century, not earlier. It contains, *inter alia*, a series of professions of Faith, the Athanasian Creed being in the number. They are preceded by the following list of titles:—"I. Exemplar fidei catholice niceni concilii. II. Fides catholica a sanctis patribus exposita. III. Damnatio blasphemiae arrii. IIII. Fides catholica dicta a sancto athanasio episcopo alexandrino. V. Fides catholica dicta a sancto iheronymo

presbitero. VI. Fides catholica dicta a sancto Gregorio cæsariensis episcopo. VII. Fides catholica ab ortodoxis patribus exposita. VIII. Fides catholica sancti valeriani episcopi. VIIII. Fides catholica sancti gregorii majoris. X. Fides catholica a sanctis patribus exposita. XI. Fides catholica sancti ambrosii episcopi. XII. Dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum X. et VIII. episcoporum." The Athanasian Creed appears on f. 149, with the same title as above. The collations of the text may be seen in Appendix, Note I. Then the 'Damasi Symbolum,' entitled, "Fides dicta a sancto Hieronymo presbitero" —the title which it bears, it should be observed, in the next-mentioned MS. also, Paris, 2076, a MS. of the same period, as well as in a MS. of De Thou, No. 199, noticed by Quesnel, in his dissertation "De variis fidei libellis."[1] It is worthy of note that in all these three MSS. this profession of Faith is found without the *filioque*; all have, "Spiritum Sanctum . . . de Patre procedentem." The profession of Faith following that of Gregory of Neocæsarea, or Thaumaturgus, is the 'Fides Romanorum,' the same which is sometimes attributed to Athanasius, and is quoted as his by Hincmar, and has been edited by Chifflet as the ninth book of Vigilius de Trinitate. It is here entitled, "Exemplar fidei catholice"—a different title from that assigned to it in the list of titles. This title it has also in the De Thou MS. recently mentioned, and there, as here, it follows the 'Damasi Symbolum,' and the Profession of Gregory

[1] GALLANDII 'Sylloge Dissertationum,' tom. I. p. 814. Edit. 1790.

Thaumaturgus. Like the former of these professions, it has in this MS. "de Patre procedentem." The last of these professions is none other than the "Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis," commonly ascribed to Gennadius; but here, it is to be remarked, attributed to the Nicene Fathers. It is given in a somewhat extended form, containing fifty-eight sections. The title by which it is headed is the same that it is described by in the list of titles, only fuller: "Incipit dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum decem et octo episcoporum congregati sunt aput Niceam Bithiniae." "Qui" seems to have been omitted before "congregati." This profession appears with a similar title, "Incipit doctrina dogma ecclesiastica secundum Nicenum Concilium," in another MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, which belongs to a period rather earlier than this, viz., the ninth century, and is numbered 10,612; but there it contains only fifty-three sections. This manuscript is interesting, as showing what a large number of professions of Faith were extant in the tenth century and earlier.

Paris, 2076.

This MS. belongs also to the tenth century, and it bears an evident relation to the last-mentioned manuscript, inasmuch as most of its contents are found also in the second volume or part of that codex, arranged in the same order. I am tempted to think that 2076 was copied from 2341 as regards the documents common to both; but a positive opinion upon the point it would be hazardous to pronounce,

without a closer examination of the two MSS. than I was able to devote to them. Among the documents thus reproduced in the former is the series of twelve professions of Faith, which have been noticed as occurring in the latter. The titles by which they are described in the preliminary list, as well as those by which they are severally headed, correspond, I believe, substantially in the two manuscripts. The various readings of the Athanasian Creed contained in this MS. will be found in Appendix, Note I. The documents common to the two MSS., besides the professions of Faith, are dogmatic treatises. This codex belonged formerly to the Colbert Collection, and prior to passing into that collection appears to have been the property of P. Pithou, by his autograph inscribed on the first page. Possibly both MSS. originally were owned by the Abbey of Corbie, which, according to Monsieur Delisle, was despoiled at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the next century of many of its literary treasures by De Thou and Pithou and others.

BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDIT. MSS. 19,725.

This manuscript was written in the early part of the tenth century, and in Germany, in the judgment of Mr. Thompson, the Keeper of the Manuscript Department. It has hitherto completely escaped notice, although it is important, as serving to illustrate the history of the reception and use of the Athanasian Creed in the middle of the ninth century, if not earlier. It is imperfect at the beginning, and

contains first a Martyrology; then, according to the catalogue, "ratio compoti Bedæ presbyteri;" then a Penitentiale, preceded by a short notice concerning the nature of Canons and the first four General Councils; then the "Liber de dogmatibus ecclesiasticis," described both at the commencement and ending as "doctrina ecclesiastica," without being attributed to any author, and extending to fifty-eight sections or chapters, as in Paris, 2076; then fifteen "capitula" of canonical directions for priests. Then follow some other injunctions and exhortations of a similar nature for the clergy; and the last document is an account of the acts and miracles and sufferings of some saints.

The document which concerns our subject is the fifteen "capitula." This is introduced on f. 63, verso, by the Rubric, "Incipit expositio de XV. capitulis de canon (*sic*) de quos (*sic*) sacerdos raciones reddere debet in sinodo." The first of these "capitula" is the same document respecting the nature of Canons and the first four General Councils which appears in a previous place in the MS. It commences, "Prima enim adnotacione;" and in a list of titles, which follows some way on, it is described thus: "Quid sit canon vel quid contineatur in canone." In the same list the next "capitulum" has for its title, "Qualiter fides catholica et credatur et observetur." It commences, "Post cognitionem fidei canonice adnotandum est qualiter fides catholica et credatur et observetur ad omnibus, id est, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, tres personas confiteri," and ter-

minates thus: "Secundum fidem, quia exposita est in Nicea sinodo a tricentis decem et hocto episcopis continens hanc (*sic*) modum: *credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem, omnium visibilium et invisibilium factorem* et reliqua; fidem enim" (probably a mistake for "etiam") "sancti Athanasii episcopi in hoc opere censuimus observandam et simbolum apostolorum con" (clearly for "cum") "tradicionibus et exposicionibus sanctorum patrum in his sermonibus adnotatis." This direction that the Athanasian Creed should be "observed," no doubt implied that it should be learnt by heart by the clergy, and recited and explained to the people in their own language. The period at which these capitula were put together is ascertained from the thirteenth of the series, which is entitled, "De oracionibus pro domno rege et fidelibus suis." It is as follows:—"De oracionibus enim" (possibly a mistake for "etiam") "que pro domno rege et filiis ejus vel pro omnibus fidelibus ejus admonicionem facimus ut in salmis" (obviously for "psalmis") "et oracionibus ac missis cum summa devocione Deum deprecare studeatis una nobis ut vitam et sanitatem et pacem et victoriam piissimi et serenissimi imperatoris lotharii et filiis ejus Dominus tribuat ad gubernacionem ecclesie et ad nostram perpetuam pacem." Lothaire became sole emperor upon the death of his father in 840, and died in 855. Some time, therefore, between these years the capitula must have been drawn up, as appears by the above direction to pray for him, as emperor, and his sons; unless they were drawn up during the

brief space in 833 and the following year, when he reigned as sole emperor after the deposition of his father. And probably they were enacted for some province or diocese situated between the Meuse and the Rhine, which rivers were made the boundaries of his dominions on the west and east by the Treaty of Verdun in 843. The injunctions of these capitula, including, of course, that of the second, concerning the Athanasian and the two other Creeds, it must be noted, were imposed upon the clergy under penalty of canonical censure in the event of disobedience, and as matters respecting which they were required to give account in Synod. This we learn from the title with which they are introduced: "Incipit expositio de XV. capitulis de canon" (clearly for "canone" or "canonibus," the mark of abbreviation having been inadvertently omitted) "de quos sacerdos raciones reddere debet in sinodo;" and from the last of the series: "Hæc, fratres karissimi, que supra scripta sunt admonemus et deprecamur, ut cum bono animo ac fide devota teneatis. Qui vero neglexerit sciat se canonicis interdictis subjacere." Thus another instance, hitherto unnoticed, is supplied of the canonical use of the Quicunque vult in the ninth century.

The capitulum relating to the Creeds, which is the second of the series, possesses a further interest. That, as well as the preceding one concerning the nature of Canons, is evidently of earlier date than the compilation of this series in which we find them. That these capitula were constructed from pre-existing materials, is stated by the preface to them: And

there is internal evidence of this being the case with the two first. It is remarkable that they appear at the end of the 'Epistola de Baptismo,' of Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, and as part of it, in the printed editions of that work, though it is impossible to suppose that they belonged to it originally, as they have no connection with its subject matter, viz., the ceremonies used at Baptism. No account is given of the circumstance by the first editor, Cordesius, whose edition appeared in 1615; but Galland, in his edition in the 'Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum,' which was issued towards the end of the last century, added a note respecting them: "Fortasse hæc ad alium auctorem pertineant, qui ante synodum V. vixit." And this is reproduced in Migne's edition, which apparently is a mere reprint of Galland's. The latter, no doubt, observed the entire want of connection between these two pieces and the treatise, or epistle, to which they are attached; and his conjecture concerning the date of their composition must have been based on the notice of the first four Councils contained in the first of the two. A similar document, drawn up after the Sixth Council, for instance, would probably have given an account of all six—such as we have in the Paris MSS. 3848 B and 2123. Whether the two belonged to one and the same work originally must be a matter of uncertainty. It is clear that the second was drawn from a larger work —apparently a course of sermons, or addresses, by a bishop, enjoining the use of the Athanasian and Apostles' Creeds. "Fidem etiam," it says, "Sancti

Athanasii episcopi *in hoc opere* censuimus observandam et symbolum apostolorum cum traditionibus et expositionibus sanctorum patrum *in his sermonibus* adnotatis." And this work could not have been Jesse's Epistle on Baptism, which contains no reference to the Athanasian Creed; though possibly it may have been written by him, for he was bishop as early as A.D. 799, and did not die till A.D. 836; but nothing can be affirmed with certainty on the point. It may have been earlier than his time. All we know is that the work has perished; and the fact is very suggestive, as showing the inconclusive nature of the arguments which have been largely and confidently employed of late years to disprove the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed, grounded upon the paucity of early MSS. containing it, and of early notices of it, now in existence. The phenomenon is most easily accounted for. The great bulk of the literature of the centuries immediately preceding the ninth has perished, and with it, doubtless, numberless copies of the Creed, and numberless works referring to it. Here is an instance. It may be added that in the editions of Jesse's Epistle, after the two pieces, or capitula, alluded to, there follows immediately a series of nine other capitula relating to the clergy, which are also clearly devoid of any connection with that epistle. Possibly, the first editor printed them as part of it, merely because he found them in the same MS.—for no better reason.

The 'Doctrina ecclesiastica,' or Gennadius's 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' as it appears in this

MS., contains a passage which serves to show the relevancy and cogency of Dr. Heurtley's argument in support of the antiquity of Fortunatus's Commentary. It will be remembered that, in a very able pamphlet written a few years since, that scholar argued, from the language employed by the commentator in expounding the words, "in sæculo," of the Athanasian Creed, viz., "Id est, in isto sexto milliario, in quo nunc sumus," that he must have written before, and some time before, the conclusion of the eighth century, which was nearly coincident with the conclusion of the sixth milliary of years from the Creation according to the chronology of Eusebius—the chronology generally followed in the West. The exposition of doctrine commonly attributed to Gennadius is given in this manuscript, written, as already stated, early in the tenth century, in an extended form, containing fifty-eight chapters, or sections—three more than it contains as printed in the appendix to St. Augustine. For it varies in length in different MSS.: in the Paris MSS. of the ninth century, 3848 B and 2123, it has but fifty-one chapters; in another of the same century, Paris, 10,612, it has fifty-three; whereas in another of the tenth, Paris, 2341, it has the same number as in this British Museum MS. In the British Museum MS. and the last-named Paris MS., the fifty-eighth chapter, which relates to the periods of the year at which the great events in the history of our Blessed Lord took place, contains these words: "Post resurrectionem fuit cum discipulis suis diebus XL. et sic ascendit in cœlis, quem expletis VI. milibus annorum, *qui jam*

complentur, venturum judicem expectamus;" and with these words the document concludes in the former, but not the latter, MS. The conclusion of the sixth milliary, or sixth period of a thousand years from the creation of Adam, was a marked epoch, owing to the opinion entertained by some among the early Christians, and alluded to by St. Augustine,[1] that the world would only last six thousand years, and at their expiration the millennial reign of Christ upon earth, with the risen saints, would commence. And it is noticeable that a person writing not long after the termination of the eighth century of the Christian era, like the author of these last chapters in the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' spoke of these six thousand years as already completed, grounding his expectation of Christ's coming upon the fact; whereas St. Augustine, at the commencement of the fifth century, speaks of that period as not yet completed,[2] and he says that they had then reached the latter part of the sixth milliary.[3] Hence the significance of the expression, "In isto sexto milliario, in quo nunc sumus," as indicative of date. It is just what would drop from a person writing at the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century. In the eighth century he would scarcely have omitted all allusion to the near approach of so remarkable an epoch as the expiration of the sixth milliary.

[1] 'De Civ. Dei,' xx. 7, 1.

[2] "Cum ab ipso primo homine, qui est appellatus Adam, nondum sex millia annorum compleantur."—Ibid. xviii. 40.

[3] "Sexto annorum milliario, tanquam sexto die, cujus nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur."—Ibid. xx. 7, 2.

Dr. Swainson, in his *excursus* on the sixth millennium,[1] intended as an answer to Dr. Heurtley, appears to allege that, in the ninth century, the sixth milliary, or millenary, was not yet concluded, adducing, in proof of his position, the words of Rhabanus, who wrote in that century: "Sexta quæ nunc agitur ætas nullis generationibus vel temporum serie certa, sed ut ætas decrepita ipsa totius sæculi morte consummanda"—words which, by the way, are really borrowed, as well as much besides that Rhabanus says of the six ages, from Bede.[2] I have already mentioned that in his remarks upon a notice of "the six ages" in the British Museum MS. Reg. 2 B. V., Dr. Swainson confuses the sixth age with the sixth milliary, or millenary. The same confusion is apparent here. I have also pointed out that Bede clearly distinguishes between the two; and the same may be said of St. Augustine. With the latter, as with the former, the sixth milliary is a definite period, otherwise he would not have said of it, "Cujus nunc spatia posteriora volvuntur," the sixth period of a thousand years from the Creation; whereas the sixth age (and the subject of the six ages is several times dwelt upon by him) is the period from our Lord's first coming in the flesh to the end of the world, and, therefore, an indefinite period; so that he says of it, "Sexta nunc agitur, nullo generationum numero metienda, propter id quod dictum

[1] 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 432–435.

[2] RHABANI "Liber de Computo," lxv.; BALUZII 'Miscellanea,' tom. ii. pp. 83, 84.

est: 'Non est vestrum scire tempora, quæ Pater posuit in sua potestate.'"[1]

Douce, 59, Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Among the MSS. of the Athanasian Creed belonging to the beginning of the tenth or the end of the ninth century, this very beautiful volume requires to be noticed. Mr. Coxe, the learned Librarian of the Bodleian, assigns it to that epoch with certainty, as he has kindly informed me; Mr. Macray, in his 'Annals of the Bodleian Library,' describes it as the work probably of the ninth century, and he adds, respecting its former history, that it came from the old Royal Library of France.[2] It is one of the treasures with which the Oxford Library was enriched by the bequest of Francis Douce. It is a Psalter, written in golden minuscules on purple vellum, with large, and in places highly ornamented, initial letters. The Psalms are preceded by a few pages of preliminary matter; and are followed by the "Pusillus eram," and the usual Old Testament Canticles. Then come successively the Te Deum, entitled, "Hymnum in Die Dominica;" the Benedicite, entitled, "Benedictio trium puerorum;" the Benedictus; the Magnificat; the Nunc dimittis; the Gloria in excelsis, entitled, "Hymnum angelicum ad missam;" the Lord's Prayer; the Apostles' Creed, entitled, "Symbolum;" the Athanasian Creed, entitled, "Fides Catholica Athanasii episcopi;" and with this the volume concludes. The collations of the text of the Quicunque will be

[1] 'De Civitate Dei,' xxii. 5.

[2] Page 249.

found in Appendix, Note I. In this Psalter there is no prefatory explanation to each Psalm, nor succeeding prayer nor collect, as is sometimes the case. Psalm li., or lii. in our version, and Psalm ci., or cii. A. V., are each preceded by a pictorial illustration; and I was struck by the resemblance in character which the first of these bears to the illustrations of the same Psalm in the Utrecht Psalter, and in the Psalter of Count Henry at Troyes. The details are somewhat varied, probably to suit the size and shape of the pictures; but there is a sameness of idea and style in all three—the same central figure of the Psalmist, or righteous man, appealing to heaven before the enthroned king, or "tyrant," who is addressed in the first verse, and bearing in his right hand the same peculiar half-moon-shaped instrument, doubtless intended for the "sharp razor" mentioned in the third verse, and the same representation of the "green olive tree" of the ninth verse. In all three the artists appear to have had for their model the same original or copies of it. The illustrations in the Oxford and Troyes Psalters are coloured; this is not the case with the drawings in the Utrecht Psalter.

Psalter of Count Henry at Troyes.

This is assigned to the ninth century. Before the French Revolution at the close of the last century, it belonged to the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen, at that time the principal church of Troyes next to the cathedral. It is mentioned by Martene, in his

'Voyage Littéraire,'[1] among the valuables of that church, which were inspected by him at his visit to Troyes, and he describes the character of the writing as dating back more than eight hundred years. At the Revolution, when the hand of the plunderer and destroyer fell so heavily upon the French Church and her property, this volume narrowly escaped destruction, was much injured and stripped of the silver gilt tablets in which it was bound. Some time after, it was found in a damp chamber in the Prefecture of Aube, with other *débris* from the treasures of St. Stephen's and the cathedral at Troyes; and the whole of these precious relics were saved from further injury by the loving care of the prefect, who presented them to the latter church, than which no more fitting asylum could be found for their reception. The Psalter is now exhibited among the treasures of the cathedral, in a closed glass case, being laid open at the illustration of the 52nd Psalm, previously referred to. I was informed that it contains other similar illustrative pictures; but am unable to give any account of them or of the contents of the MS. upon my own authority, having been unsuccessful in my attempts to obtain permission to examine it. This, however, is immaterial, as an account of it is given in the 'Catalogue des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques.'[2] It is written throughout in letters of gold and in minuscules, like the Douce Psalter, with large painted and decorated capitals for the initial

[1] 'Première Partie,' p. 90.

[2] Tom. ii. pp. 1012–1014. Paris, 1855.

letters. The catalogue gives a description of the illustration of the 52nd Psalm, but makes no mention of any other; so that my information that that is not the only one, may be wrong. The volume appears to have been executed for one of the Counts of Champagne; but it could not have been written for Count Henry, who lived two centuries after the date assigned to it. It was by this count that the Collegiate Church of St. Stephen at Troyes, to which it belonged previous to the Revolution, was founded; and hence it is very probable that it originally came into possession of that body through his munificence, and was therefore called "Count Henry's Psalter." The initiatory leaves have been torn away, and the first page at present commences with the latter verses of the ninth Psalm. Respecting the contents, the description of the catalogue states: "On a ajouté à la fin les cantiques qu'on chante aux Matines, le Te Deum, l'Oraison dominicale, le Symbole des Apôtres et celui de Saint Athanase, qui termine le volume."

I cannot help thinking that this Psalter is very similar to the Douce Psalter at Oxford, and that they might be compared with advantage. To the best of my recollection, the two volumes correspond in size and shape; they resemble one another in the character of the writing and of the illustrations; and from the account of the catalogue the contents appear to be the same—at least, both terminate with the Athanasian Creed.

PARIS BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, 13,388.

This MS. belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, as appears from the memorandum at the commencement: "S^ti. Germani a Pratis." It is a small quarto of 107 leaves, written in Caroline minuscules, with the titles in uncials enclosed in a decorated border, and is assigned by the catalogue to the ninth century. It is a manual of devotion; and the following list of contents is written on the fly-leaf by a modern hand:—"Confessio cujusdam monachi. Confessio S. Fulgentii Episcopi ad pœnitentiam dandam. Variæ orationes pœnitentium et cantica. Litaniæ sanctorum antiquæ. Versus a Beda collecti."

It is to the last of these documents that I wish to draw attention. It commences on the verso side of folio 81, with the title written in uncials and surrounded with a large and ornamented border, thus occupying the whole page. The title is as follows:—"Incipiunt versi venerabilis Bedæ presbiteri collecti de singulis psalmis orationibus convenientes cotidianis." It should be observed, as perhaps investing the document with special dignity, that on the recto side of the same leaf there is a drawing, in blue ink, of our Blessed Lord upon the cross—the head encircled by a radiated nimbus, the body vested from the waist to the knees, the feet separate, each pierced with a nail. The work itself is an abbreviated Psalter, consisting of verses selected from the Psalms, but with no indication by number of the Psalms from which they were

taken, nor division, except that the commencement of the gradual Psalms is denoted by a Rubric in capital letters, "Canticum graduum." To the Psalter is subjoined the following prayer:—"Patrem praecor potentiae principemque scientiae, ut per hos ter quinos gradus caelos possim conscendere et per loca aetheria vehar ad refrigeria, ut merear praemia possidere eximia." Then the Rubric, "Oratio," and the prayer, "Liberator animarum mundi redemptor, Jhesu Christe, Deus aeterne rex immortalis, supplico ego peccator immensam clementiam tuam, ut per magnam misericordiam tuam et per modulationem psalmorum, quam ego indignus peccator decantavi, liberes animam meam de peccato. Averte cor meum ab omnibus malis pravis et perfidis cogitationibus. . . . Salvator mundi, qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas ac dominaris Deus per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen." Then, after another prayer, we have on f. 103, recto, in rubricated capitals, "Oratio post Fidem Catholicam;" and there is immediately added, "Quicunque vult salvus esse," the initial "Q," which is a capital, being alone rubricated, the rest in non-rubricated minuscules. So that it is perfectly clear what the "Fides Catholica" here is. The prayer is as follows:—"Domine Deus noster, credimus in te, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Neque enim diceret veritas: Ite, baptizate gentes in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, nisi Trinitas esses; naec baptizari nos juberes, Domine Deus, in ejus nomine, qui non est Dominus Deus; naec diceretur voce divina: Audi, Israel, Dominus Deus tuus

Dominus unus est, nisi Trinitas ita esses, ut unus Dominus Deus esses. Et nisi tu, Deus Pater, ipse esses, et Filius Verbum tuum Jhesus Christus ipse esses, et donum vestrum Spiritus Sanctus, non legeremus in litteris veritatis: Misit Deus Filium suum, nec tu, Unigenite, diceres de Spiritu Sancto: Quem mittit Pater in nomine meo, et, Quem ego mittam vobis a Patre. Ad hanc regulam fidei dirigens intentionem meam, summa origo rerum et perfectissima pulchritudo et beatissima delectatio." The conclusion of the prayer appears to be omitted. It will be observed that Bede here seems to call the Quicunque, "regula fidei." Then the Rubric in capitals: "In laudem Dei oratio pura." This consists of a series of invocations and supplications to the Blessed Trinity; it appears also in a "Libellus precum," edited by Martene in his work 'De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus,' from an ancient Fleury MS., and printed also in the fourth appendix to Alcuin's works, as edited by Migne; it asserts the doctrine of the double Procession, thus: "Unus a se, unus ab uno, unus ab ambobus, O beata Trinitas: unus a se, unus ab altero, unus ab utroque, O beata Trinitas." Then follows the Rubric, "Præfatio." Of this "præfatio" the conclusion is as follows:—"Adgrediar pro viribus de pluribus pauca, e maximis modica, de innumerabilibus miraculis metrico carmine contingere aliqua; auctoritate scilicet sanctorum patrum fretus, qui multa in laudibus divinis metrice adplauserunt. Et" (probably for "ex") "quibus præfulgidorum virorum Hilarii videlicet Pictavensis episcopi, Sedulii quoque

ac Juvenci presbiterorum, necnon et Aratoris Romane ecclesiae subdiaconi, atque Eldelmi, et Prosperi discurrens virentia prata, paradisigenas inde sumens comptis floribus herbas, quibusdam flosculis meae imbecillitatis pro viribus locis et suis oportunitatibus interpolatis, hanc tantillam intexui coronam vernantem." But this poem is not added, and the work concludes with the "præfatio;" the following note being subjoined:—"Explicit libellus necessarius valde."

This work, I find, was edited by Martene and Durand, in the fifth volume of the 'Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum,' under the title, "Venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri et monachi Benedictini Libellus precum ex MS. codice Corbeiensi." And in their preliminary notice they say: "Bedæ venerabilis homiliis subjicere libet libellum precum ab eo compositum, quem eruimus ex veteri Corbeiensi codice ante annos octingentos scripto atque adeo ad auctoris ipsius ætatem proxime accedente. Constat præcipue ex libri Psalmorum versiculis, quos auctor excerpsit ex S. Hieronymi versione secundum Hebraicam veritatem."[1] It will be noticed that they accept unhesitatingly the genuineness of the work; also that the Corbie MS., from which the work was edited, must have been executed about the commencement of the tenth century, as the editors, writing early in the eighteenth, describe it as eight hundred years old. They have committed a remarkable mistake in printing the "præfatio" above mentioned at the

[1] 'Thesaurus Novus,' tom. v. p. 381. Paris, 1717.

commencement of the work, as though it were the preface to that, and the scribe had misplaced it at the end. "Porro codicis scriptor"—thus they continue—"Bedæ præfationem ad calcem libri collocaverat, quam nos suo loco restituimus." Had they read through the "præfatio" with any degree of attention, they would have perceived that it is not the preface to the abbreviated Psalter, but to a hymn or poem, which for some reason the scribe omitted to add. This work has been reprinted by Migne, in his 'Patrologia,' from the 'Thesaurus Novus,' with the above-mentioned editorial error. The Corbie MS., which Martene and Durand made use of for editing this work, cannot be identical with Paris, 13,388, which, as has been already mentioned, formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près. For the former codex must have been at Corbie at the commencement of last century, when Martene and Durand edited the 'Thesaurus Novus,' and probably was seen by them at that abbey, when they visited it in the course of their *voyage littéraire;* and no MSS. appear to have been transferred from Corbie to St. Germain's subsequently to that period. Monsieur Delisle states that four hundred of the most valuable of the literary treasures of the former abbey had been so transferred for the sake of security previously, viz., in 1638, under the care of Anselm le Michel. These, with the exception of twenty-five, which were stolen in 1791 and afterwards for the most part found their way into the library at St. Petersburg, remained at the Abbey of St. Germain until 1795

and 1796, when they were added to the great national collection which is now known as the Bibliothèque Nationale.[1]

Alcuin, in one of his epistles, makes an evident allusion to this work. In describing the contents of a manual "libellus," or codex, sent by him as a present to his friend Arno, Archbishop of Salzburg, he says: "Est quoque in eo libello Psalterium parvum, quod dicitur beati Bedæ Psalterium, quem ille collegit per versus dulces in laude Dei, et orationibus per singulos Psalmos juxta Hebraicam veritatem."[2] Of the identity of the document thus described with that of which we are treating, there can be no reasonable question. And in his 'Officia per Ferias,' the abbreviated Psalter, but without the prayers annexed, appears among the devotions for the sixth day, headed by the title, "Collectio Psalterii Bedæ."[3] Now, considering that Alcuin lived shortly after Bede—for he was born about the year of Bede's death,—and that as an Englishman, educated in the archbishop's school at York, he was in all probability well acquainted with Bede's writings, this notice, on his part, of the work, and that as the work of Bede, cannot be regarded otherwise than as evidence of its genuineness. And there is some internal evidence to the same effect. The author or compiler was a poet or versifier, for the work, as appears from the

[1] 'Recherches sur l'Ancienne Bibliothèque de Corbie,' par M. Delisle. Paris, 1860.

[2] Alcuini 'Opera,' epistola 156; Migne, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. c. p. 407.

[3] Migne, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. ci. pp. 569–579.

"præfatio," originally must have contained a poem from his pen; and such was Bede, some of his hymns and poems being still extant. It was his practice to compile from the works of the Fathers; and such was the wont of Bede, himself being witness.[1] He was also acquainted with the poems of Aldhelm, and was therefore probably an Englishman; Bede expressly mentions the book of that bishop on 'Virginity,' which he composed, he adds, both in verse and prose, in imitation of Sedulius—another, by the way, of the Christian poets from whom the author borrowed,—and he speaks in high commendation of his learning, erudition, and style of writing;[2] and Bede was, it need scarcely be added, an Englishman. And there is no other writer of the eighth century who is known to fulfil these conditions except Alcuin, who cannot be regarded as the author, inasmuch as he attributes the work to Bede. Aldhelm, it must be borne in mind, died A.D. 709, Bede A.D. 735. Two grounds suggest themselves, on which the genuineness of this work may possibly be impugned: first, that it is passed over silently in a list of Bede's works, which he himself drew up and annexed to his 'Ecclesiastical History;' and second, that it makes mention of the Athanasian Creed as used by Bede and in his time. It may be well to notice these two points. In regard to the first, it is very possible that Bede did not deem this little work—a brief manual of devotion—of sufficient

[1] 'Ecclesiastical History,' book v. sect. 454.

[2] Ibid. sect. 410.

importance to be mentioned in a catalogue of his works. Or it may have been composed by him after he made the list at the end of his 'History,' the date of the completion of which, viz., A.D. 731, is known for certain, being added by his own hand. He lived four years longer. Either of these alternatives, being possible, might be alleged as a sufficient answer. In regard to the second point, the objection can be of no weight except upon the hypothesis, maintained by a few, that the Athanasian Creed never saw the light till the ninth century. In point of fact, nothing is more probable than that the great exposition of the Catholic Faith was known to Bede and used by him. True, the earliest positive evidence we have of its acceptance in England is the quotation of part of it in the profession of Faith made by Deneberht, when Bishop of Worcester elect, A.D. 798. But he quotes the Creed as a well-known authoritative document at the time, introducing it with the words, "Scriptum est." The natural inference is that it must have been known and received in our country for some time previously. Further, in Bede's time the Church of England was in frequent intercourse and intercommunion with the Churches of the Continent. He himself never was abroad; but he and the religious community located on the banks of the Wear, of which he was a member, were brought under foreign influence by means of Benedict Bishop, who was the founder and first abbot of that society, and his spiritual father and instructor. Benedict was a great traveller, and religion was the motive and cause

of his travels; no less than five times in the course of his life he visited Rome, and never returned home empty-handed—twice, certainly, he is recorded to have brought back for the use of his monasteries a store of valuable books of all kinds, obtained partly in Gaul and partly at Rome, either by purchase or the munificence of friends. Of course, he must have become thoroughly acquainted, during his travels, with the uses and customs of the Churches of Gaul and Italy; and more, during a two years' residence in the celebrated Abbey of Lerins, he was instructed in the rule of the monastic life, and observed it himself with great care; there, too, he received the tonsure; and in framing rules for his own monasteries, it was his principle to adhere to the best models of similar institutions, of which he had thus acquired a large and intimate knowledge. "Do not imagine," he said, in his dying charge to his monks, "that the rules which I have laid down for you, I have derived from my own untutored heart; for whatever I discovered to be the most valuable in the management of the seventeen monasteries which I visited during my long and frequent travels, with all those I made myself acquainted, and have given them to you for your profit and guidance." Ceolfrid, also, who upon Benedict's death, A.D. 689, became Abbot of the associated Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, was a travelled man.[1] Is it possible to conceive that

[1] See Lives of Benedict, Ceolfrid, etc., by BEDE; also 'Sermon upon the Nativity of Benedict,' by the same; and 'Life of the Venerable Bede,' by an unknown writer, in the historical works of the

Bede, the Benedictine monk, a man "in whom all the learning of the age seemed to be summed up;" who spent a life of study and devotion in a community, which thus derived its rules from the best models of the age upon the Continent, particularly in Gaul, and which possessed a valuable library recently collected in part in the same country; could have been unacquainted with the Athanasian Creed, which, there is every reason to believe, was at the time received and highly esteemed in Gaul? Thus there is positive evidence, external and internal, of the genuineness of this abbreviated Psalter of Bede; and the objections which may be raised are of no moment. But even supposing for the nonce that the genuineness of the work cannot be maintained, the mention of it by Alcuin must prove it to be of the age of Bede; and thus its value is unimpaired, so far as regards its testimony to the antiquity of the acceptance and use of the Athanasian Creed.

I have been thus particular in drawing attention to this abbreviated Psalter by Bede, and specifying the proofs of its genuineness, because it serves to elucidate the history of the Athanasian Creed; and in this respect has been hitherto, to the best of my knowledge, entirely overlooked. For, in the mention of the recital of that Creed, and the provision of a prayer to be said after such recital, we find an earlier evidence, of a positive and express nature, than we have hitherto known, of its being received and used in England—the

Venerable Bede, translated by the Rev. J. Stevenson, M.A., being the first volume of the 'Church Historians of England.'

earliest evidence to this effect hitherto known being that supplied by the Profession of Deneberht.

Psalter of the Emperor Lothaire.

On a previous occasion[1] I drew attention to the description of this Psalter, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of St. Hubert, in the Forest of Ardennes, given by the Benedictines, Martene and Durand, in the account of their literary travels.[2] This appeared to me to be an evidence of peculiar importance to the existence and devotional use of the Athanasian Creed, which is mentioned by them as one of the contents of the volume, in the early part of the ninth century, because some encomiastic verses in honour of Lothaire clearly point to the year 834 as the date of the manuscript. I hazarded the conjecture that this very interesting manuscript was not lost, and would come to light at some future day. My conjecture has been fulfilled sooner than I expected. The MS. has been attracted to the London book-market by the enterprise of Messrs. Ellis and White, who offered it for sale at the large sum of £1750, and, I am told, sold it for nearly as much as they asked. Fac-similes have been edited by the Palæographic Society of the curious portraits of David and Lothaire which it contains, of the writing of one of the Psalms, and of that of some later additions at the end, which may be fixed between

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 147–155.

[2] Voyage Littéraire de Deux Religieux Benedictins,' tom. ii. pp. 132–144. Paris, 1724.

A.D. 908 and A.D. 920. The Society gives the following account of the contents:—"Latin Psalter of Jerome's Gallican version, with preface. It is marked by obelisks and asterisks, etc., and is in twelve divisions, and has appended the 'Pusillus eram,' Canticles, Te Deum Laudamus, 'Fides catholica tradita a Sancto Athanasio, Alexandrino episcopo,' 'Patèr noster,' 'Symbolum Apostolorum,' Magnificat." The order in which these documents occur seems to me very peculiar, and therefore worthy of note. It may be presumed that it is correctly represented from the MS., especially as it also appears in the Benedictines' description in the 'Voyage Littéraire;' only they say nothing of the Magnificat. Generally the Athanasian Creed stands last in order of these documents in Psalters. In the Utrecht and the Eadwine Psalters, it is followed by the "Pusillus eram," or apocryphal 151st Psalm; in two of the Psalters described by Dr. Swainson, by the Lord's Prayer and Apostles' Creed; but I know of no other instance where it is followed by the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed and the Magnificat. The above-mentioned description continues: "In a later hand are added, 'Orationes pro statu sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ.' Among other insertions at the beginning, in different hands, is a prayer headed, 'Oratio pro vivorum,' composed apparently by a daughter of the Emperor Lothair while an inmate of a religious house, in which the names Lothair, Charles, and Louis, and of Charles 'senior noster,' are introduced as living, and of Lothair, Hyrmingard, and Theobert, apparently as deceased; together with

portraits of the Emperor Lothair, David, and Jerome, with verses in rustic capitals on the opposite page." Some further particulars respecting the history of the MS. are supplied by Messrs. Ellis and White's catalogue. It is described in a Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Hubert, known as the 'Cantatorium' of the twelfth century, as having been presented to the abbey by Louis le Debonnaire, on occasion of the translation of the remains of St. Hubert, A.D. 825. Consequently, this date is assigned to the manuscript by that catalogue, and is accepted, though doubtfully, by the Palæographic Society. But the verses in honour of Lothaire seem to determine the date to the latter half of the year 833 or the early part of the following year, during which period he reigned as sole emperor in the place of his father, whom he had defeated and dethroned. At that time, he received an embassy from the Greek Emperor; and at that time, and at that time only during his life, he exercised sovereign rule over the vast dominions which had formed the empire of his father and grandfather, to their Western limit. And these circumstances are distinctly alluded to in the verses. So that on this point we have reason to believe the Chronicle to be in error. The Psalter remained at the Abbey of St. Hubert till the French Revolution, when it was carried off by the prior, Dom Nicholas Spirlet, and Dom Etienne, together with other treasures of their house. The prior died on his journey, and Dom Etienne then became the possessor of the volume, which he left at his death to his nephew, of whom it was purchased by

Messrs. Ellis and White. By them it has been sold to an English gentleman, who did not wish his name to be known. It is thus lost to the public.

VAT. PALAT. 574.

This MS. is assigned by Reifferscheid to the ninth century.[1] It contains a Gallican collection of Canons, compiled, as the Ballerini infer, from the date of the latest Synod, of which it gives the Canons, viz., the Fourth of Orleans, held A.D. 541, a little before the middle of the sixth century. That this was the original collection appears from the list of titles, or chapters, the last of which refers to that Synod. But the MS. contains some other documents, written, however, in the same hand as the preceding part, which those learned canonists believe, from the date of the latest of their number, viz., A.D. 756, to have been added in the eighth century. Among these additions the Athanasian Creed is found, with the title, "Incipit fides catholica beati atanasi episcopi." This, therefore, may fairly be adduced as evidence of the existence of the Creed in the eighth century; for although it is possible that it may have been added after that century, if the MS. was really not written before the ninth, still such a thing is highly improbable, as it is not the last document among the additions, but is followed by others, one of them being of the eighth century, and another of the seventh; had it been

[1] 'Die Römischen Bibliotheken, von Dr. Aug. Reifferscheid,' in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, band lvi., pp. 493–499.

added after these, it would in all probability have succeeded them in order. In regard to the date of the MS., the Ballerini state, that Holstenius invariably describes it as of very great antiquity, and their own opinion seems to coincide with his. If it is not earlier than the ninth century, there can be little doubt that it is not the original record of the collection which it contains, but an after-copy. What lends probability to this surmise is that it belonged to the Abbey of St. Nazaire, at Lauresheim, in the diocese of Worms—the modern Lorsch, in Hesse-Darmstadt—as appears from a note on the last folio: "Codex S. Nazarii, in Laurissa;" whereas the contents are such as clearly point to a Gallic, not a German, origin. Moreover, among the additions are documents relating to the Abbey of Lerins, in the south of France, as well as others concerning monastic matters, and in particular the rules of the Benedictine order; from which it appears probable that that celebrated Abbey was the locality where this appendix, so to speak, to the original collection was compiled.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, 4858 (REG. 4908).

This manuscript, which contains a fragment of the Athanasian Creed, is noticed by Montfaucon, in his 'Diatribe in Symbolum Quicunque,'[1] and described by him as being nearly nine hundred years old, and coeval with the manuscript in the Imperial Library at Vienna, which was written by the command of Charlemagne, and of which Lambecius has given an

[1] 'Opera Sancti Athanasii,' tom. ii. Edit. 1698.

account, *i.e.* the Vienna Psalter.[1] In the judgment, then, of that illustrious palæographer, the manuscript belongs to the end of the eighth century, and is certainly not later; for he pronounces it to be of the same age as the Vienna Psalter, which Lambecius believed to have been presented by Charlemagne to Pope Adrian I. in the year 772, and from Lambecius's account apparently he derives his whole knowledge of the Vienna Codex. If he also speaks of it as not quite nine hundred years old at the time when he wrote his 'Diatribe,' it must be considered that that treatise was published in the year 1698, in the appendix to his edition of the works of St. Athanasius, and must consequently have been written a short time previously, not less probably than a year or two. In the opinion, too, of the present authorities of the manuscript department at Paris, the MS. belongs to the end of the eighth century; and certainly the character of the writing seems to sustain this opinion. So that to this epoch it may be safely assigned, and the old printed catalogue has incorrectly attributed it to the ninth century; and Waterland, in fixing for the date the year 800, has scarcely put it early enough. The volume at present is imperfect at the end, a portion having been evidently torn away; and contains nothing but the 'Chronicon' of Eusebius, as translated and continued by St.

[1] "Regius codex num. 4908 annorum pœne nongentorum nullum habet titulum nullumque auctoris nomen. Æqualis ipsi est, qui memoratur a Lambecio exstatque in Bibliotheca Cæsarea Caroli magni jussu conscriptus, cujus titulus sic habet, Fides Sancti Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini."—MONTFAUCON. 'Diatribe.'

Jerome, and the fragment, before alluded to, of the Athanasian Creed. The Quicunque commences about the middle of the reverse side of the last leaf (which appears to have suffered from violent usage, being somewhat mutilated), with a large and highly ornamented initial letter; but, as Montfaucon says, without any title or introduction. The concluding words at the bottom of the page are, "non tres æterni," of the 11th verse. It would be impossible to adduce this MS. as evidence that the Creed existed only in a fragmentary or incomplete state at the time when it was written, the obvious reason why it contains a portion only of it being that the rest has perished together with the latter part of the volume to which it belonged. Doubtless, in its original perfect condition, the MS. contained the whole of the Creed. Indeed, so far from affording any support to Dr. Swainson's theory, it is fatal to it, as I have pointed out on a previous occasion;[1] for it presents, so far as it goes, the ordinary text of the Creed, the only variation of any importance being the omission of the words, "absque dubio," in the 2nd verse,—the result, in all probability, of mere inadvertence on the part of the scribe. In the 4th verse, "substantia" is read for "substantiam;" but this merely means that the mark of contraction has been omitted over the final *a*—an omission clearly attributable to the same cause.

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' p. 188.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, 1451.

This MS. contains a Gallican collection of Canons, preceded by several Expositions of the Faith, among which the Athanasian Creed stands first in order. It belonged formerly to Colbert's Collection, and a note at the bottom of the first page informs us of an earlier owner: "Fuit Nicolai Fabri." Another memorandum, written, according to Maassen, in a hand of the fifteenth century, appears on the first folio, which carries up the history of the volume still higher: "Iste liber est sci pet. fossatensis."[1] This Abbey of St. Peter Fossatensis was also called the Abbey of St. Maur Fossatensis, or des Fosses, and was situated on the river Marne, at a distance of two leagues from Paris. It was founded in the middle of the seventh century, by St. Babolein. For some time the monastery of Glanfeuil, or of St. Maur on the Loire, was subject to it; and in the time of Charles the Bald, the remains of St. Maur were translated to it from Glanfeuil; hence its alternative title. It was secularized in 1533, and changed into a Collegiate Church of Canons, and united to the bishopric of Paris.[2] The old printed catalogue says of our manuscript: "Decimo sæculo exaratus videtur;" but by Maassen (see above reference) it is assigned to the ninth century. It contains docu-

[1] MAASSEN, 'Bibliotheca Latina juris Canonici Manuscripta,' in 'Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-Historische Classe,' band liv. p. 173.

[2] See note by BALUZE; MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xcvii. pp. 427, 428; and BAILLET, 'Topographie,' p. 301.

mentary evidence, as will appear, of being written between the end of 795 and Christmas, 800; and evidence of this nature is necessarily more definite than that derived from the character of the writing, which necessarily cannot determine the date of a MS. very closely. It begins with a tree of consanguinity. Then comes a notice of the first six Councils. Then, on f. 6, verso, a list of the Popes is commenced with the Rubric, "Hic sunt Pontifices sancte Romanae Ecclesiae Beati petri apostoli." The length of each Pontificate is specified in years, months, and days. The first five, it may be interesting to mention, are Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, Anaclitus. The list is concluded on f. 7, recto, the last being, "XCVII. Adrianus s̄. ān. XXIII. m̄. X. d̄. XVII.," or, without the abbreviations, "XCVII. Adrianus sedit annos XXIII. menses X. dies XVII." This was Adrian I., who died on Christmas Day, A.D. 795. Between this and the next line there has been inserted, in a different hand, the following:—"XCVIII. Leo papa." That this is an after-insertion is evident from the manner it has been thrust in between the lines; and the insertion must have been made before the death of Leo III., the successor of Adrian, which took place A.D. 816. Had it been made after Leo's death, the duration of his Pontificate would doubtless have been specified, as has been done in the case of Adrian and all the other Popes in the list. Thus the date of the manuscript is determined to some time in the Pontificate of Leo III., which lasted from the end of 795 to 816. That it was written after the death of

Adrian I. is obvious from his being the last in the list of the Popes, and the length of his Pontificate being stated. But we are enabled to arrive at a closer approximation to the date by what immediately follows on the same page—a series of computations :—

"Ab exordio mundi usque ad diluvium sunt anni duo milia CCXL. et II. A diluvio usque ad nativitatem abrahe sunt anni DCCCCXLII.

"Passum autem dominum nostrum Jesum Christum peractis ab ortu mundi quinque milia CCXX. et VIII. anni.

"A passione domini nostri Jesu Christi usque ad sedem beatissimi marcellini pape romae anni CCLXXVI. menses VIIII.

"De apostolato jam facto Christi martyris marcellini usque tempus gloriosissimi domni caroli regis XXV. anni regni ejus hoc est usque kalendas apriles sunt anni CCCCXC. et menses III."

This is given as it appears in the MS., with the exception of the abbreviations. Thus much is clear, that it points to a date prior to the coronation of Charles the Great as emperor, on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, after which he would not have been described as "king;" and we have before seen that the MS. could not have been written before the death of Adrian I., on Christmas Day, 795. But between these limits it is difficult to ascertain the precise year or date denoted. The date is the Kalends of April, or the 25th of March, in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charles the Great; and to this from the Passion are counted 276 years and 9 months before the

Pontificate of Marcellinus + 490 years and 8 months since, or, together, 767 years. This would give, from the birth of our Saviour, as He was thirty-three years of age at the Crucifixion, 800 years; and 800 would be the year A.D. according to the above computation, were the vulgar era correct. But if, as is generally believed, the birth of our Saviour took place four years before the commencement of our era, then 796 must be the year. But how could the 25th of March in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of Charles fall in the year 796? Clearly this is impossible, according to the date usually assigned for its commencement—October, 768—when he succeeded to the kingdom of the Franks in conjunction with his brother Carloman, upon the death of Pippin, their father. Nor would this condition be satisfied by the commencement of Charles's reign being reckoned from his accession to the kingdom of the Lombards, by his conquest of their country, in May, 774. Charters are very often dated doubly, one date giving the year of his reign over the Franks, the other that of his reign over the Lombards. Occasionally those relating to Italy are dated solely from his accession to the kingdom of the Lombards. That in a French manuscript, containing a French collection of Canons, this mode of reckoning should be adopted, would seem very improbable. There is yet another mode of reckoning the commencement of Charles's reign, which appears in his life by the Poeta Saxo,[1] based upon the annals of Einhard, viz.,

[1] MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xcix. p. 685.

from December, 771, when upon the death of his brother he became sole king of the Franks. According to this, the 25th of March of the twenty-fifth year of Charles's reign would fall in the year 796 of our era, and thus these computations would be harmonized. This, then, is probably the year intended to be denoted, and the date of the manuscript; for what else could have been the purpose of this note of the year of Charlemagne's reign, entered at the commencement of the volume, immediately after the list of Popes, but to record the date of the manuscript? But, whatever be the difficulty of harmonizing these numbers, owing in all probability to some error that has crept into them, and of determining the exact year intended, the evidence that the codex was written before the coronation of Charles as emperor, on Christmas Day, A.D. 800, is clear and certain, consisting in the fact of his being entitled "king"—a title never applied to him *after* that event. Then we have the concurrent, though independent, evidence, to which I have drawn attention, of its being written some time in the Pontificate of Leo III., and probably in the early part, his name being entered subsequently to the completion of the manuscript by a hand which is not that of the writer of the volume. Now, on the verso side of the *very same page* on which appear these evidences of date, there comes the greater part of the Athanasian Creed. It is introduced by the title, "Incipit exemplar fidei cht̄ sc̄i Atanasii epi Alexandrine ecclesie," and is concluded on f. 8, recto, in the first column, the MS. being written in two

columns. The contraction *cht̄* is for *chatholice*, or *chatholicae;* in the text of the Creed we have *chatholica*. The various readings will be given in Appendix I; but there is one so interesting and peculiar that I cannot forbear to notice it here. Verses 8, 9, 10, appear thus: "Aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus et spiritus sanctus; Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus et spiritus sanctus; Inmensus pater, inmensus filius, inmensus et spiritus sanctus." This reading is, to the best of my knowledge, peculiar to this MS., and it is interesting, because it seems to receive support from the two following verses in their usual form, and to account for it:—"Et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus æternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus et unus immensus." After the Creed comes the Rubric, "Incipit exemplar fidei sancti Augustini incipiunt interrogationes de Trinitate." Then on f. 9, "In Christi nomine expositio fidei sancti hieronymi presbyteri"—the Creed of St. Jerome, so called; it has not the "Filioque"—"spiritum sanctum Deum verum ex patre procedentem." In the margin has been written, in a modern hand, "Pelagii non Hieronymi." Then on f. 11, "Sententia de canone. Statuta ecclesiae antiqua qui episcopus ordinandus est;" on f. 11, verso, "Explicit sententia de chronica altercatio de fidei Trinitatis quod fecit Gregorius Toronensis episcopus quodem in libro V. cap. XLIII.; on f. 15, verso, "Incipit rescriptio sancti hieronymi." Then on f. 16 is another list of Popes, the last being Pelagius, Pope from 578 to 590; and an account of them follows. Then, "In pro-

vinciis Gallicanis que civitates sunt metropolitane," and on f. 25, "Omnium nominum provinciarum romanarum." Then on f. 25, verso, the collection of Canons is introduced by the Rubric, "In Dei nomine continentur in hoc libro canones seu regule ecclesiasticae diversarum provinciarum Grecorum atque Latinorum epistole decretales quarum nomina et ordo ita se ha" (so the MS.; apparently for "habent"). "Feliciter incipit capitula Grecorum." The table of the titles of the chapters follows—thirty in all—the first being, "Canones Niceni ubi fuerunt episcopi CCCXVIII.," the last, "Canones spanie ubi fuerunt episcopi LXXII. quando ricaredus conversus est," viz., the Third Council of Toledo, held A.D. 589, so celebrated in connection with the history of the "Filioque." This is the only Spanish Council that appears. The rest of the volume, containing in all 107 folios, is occupied by this collection; but the conclusion is lost, the acts of the Council of Toledo ending with the words of the confession of the Goths: "Heresim Arianam foventium cum anathemate eorum propria manu subscripsimus." With the acts of the Nicene Council there are curiously intermixed some documents which have no connection with them. Thus there is given first the original Nicene Creed, of course with the anathema annexed; and this is followed by the Anathematisms of Damasus; then, "Incipit fides Romanorum;" then, "Incipit praecepta clementis episcopi," beginning, "Clemens Jacobo carissimo." Then the original Nicene Creed is repeated, introduced by the Rubric, "Incipit expositio

fidei apud Niceam." The Nicene Canons, twenty in number, follow; and then the names of the subscribing bishops; and next, "Definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum," beginning, "Credimus unum esse Deum patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum," and ending, "similitudinem in moribus inveniri." This is the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' ascribed commonly to Gennadius. Possibly it was owing to its being subjoined in this way to the acts of the Nicene Council, that this document came to be attributed to that Council, as it is in Paris, 3859, a MS. of the ninth century, and in Paris, 2341 and 2076, of the tenth. The collection contains some Papal epistles besides the apocryphal one of Clement; the latest document which is found in it being the acts of the Third Council of Toledo, it would appear to have been compiled at the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh. This MS. was unknown to Waterland; but it is noticed by Dr. Swainson in his work on the Creeds.[1]

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, 13,159.

This interesting and magnificent Psalter, containing the Athanasian Creed, is of the same date as the last-mentioned MS. It belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, the home of Montfaucon. The volume is considerably injured and soiled, and is imperfect, the end being lost and some leaves. Each Psalm is preceded by a short preface, called "titulum," and is followed by a prayer or collect. The initial letters are large and richly decorated, that of the first

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 268, 418, 449.

Psalm being peculiarly so; it covers the whole of the page. It is singular that immediately before the commencing page of the first Psalm, the corresponding leaf from another Psalter has been inserted, having an initial B similar in form to the initial B of the Utrecht Psalter, only larger; and Dr. Swainson has mistaken this inserted leaf for the genuine initial leaf—a mistake which would naturally occur to any person not examining the volume very carefully.[1] The true initial B of this Psalter is quite different in form, having two bows, with the upper of which the letter *e*, the second letter of "beatus," is interlaced, while the centre of the lower one is occupied with the figure of a bird. On this point I can speak positively, having had three opportunities of inspecting the MS. On the reverse side of the inserted folio is written, in large capital letters, "In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Incipit Liber Psalmorum;" originally this must have been the recto side. Just before the 110th Psalm is a drawing representing three figures—our Lord in the centre, with a radiated nimbus, wearing a stole, and holding a chalice apparently in His right hand; and on each side an angel bearing a cross. This, I believe, is the only illustration. With regard to the contents, immediately after the last Psalm comes the prefatory notice of the "Pusillus eram," or apocryphal 151st Psalm, containing the following:—"Hic psalmus David proprie scripsit extra numerum; cum pugnavit contra Goliad. Vox Christi seculum exoperantis."

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 351-354.

Then in large capital and initial letters, "Finiunt tituli psalmorum. Hic psalmus in ebreorum codicibus non habetur sed a LXX. interpretibus editus est et idcirco repudiandus." The contractions I have not attempted to reproduce. Then the "Pusillus eram;" and next the usual Old Testament Canticles commence. But the greater part of these is wanting; thus at the bottom of the verso side of a folio occur the words "Quia non in fortitudine sua roborabitur vir," which are in the song of Hannah; and the commencing words on the next page—198, recto—are, "Quomodo persequetur unus mille," which are in the song of Moses in Deuteronomy, always the last in order of the Old Testament Canticles; so that one or two leaves have evidently been lost here. After the song of Moses comes the Benedicite, at the conclusion of which occurs: "Benedictus es domine Deus patrum nostrorum et laudabilis et superexaltatus in secula." Then the Magnificat, with the title, "Hymnum Sancta Maria;" the Nunc dimittis, with the title, "Huic loco Symeon." Then the Te Deum, which has no title, commences, but the conclusion is wanting; the last words, which appear at the bottom of f. 160, verso, being, "Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus." On the next page—161, recto—we have the Constantinopolitan Creed, or the Nicene Creed, as we call it, commencing with the words "Deum de Deo." So that here again, evidently, a leaf is missing. Probably it contained the remainder of the Te Deum, the Gloria in excelsis, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the commencement of the Constantino-

politan. It is worth notice that the latter Creed, as here given, has the Filioque clause; and, as the Psalter bears clear evidence, as we shall see by-and-by, of having been written in the time of Charlemagne, the circumstance invests it with a peculiar interest in connection with the well-known fact that the Filioque used to be sung in that monarch's chapel. This very Psalter may have been used in the services of the royal chapel, possibly by the great Charles himself, whose biographer has made particular mention of his constant and devout attendance upon the offices of the Church. But, however this be—and it is necessarily a matter of pure conjecture—from the sumptuous and elaborate character of the volume, it would appear to have been written for some person of eminence. It will be observed that there is an error in the modern pagination, which proceeds as far as 199, and then goes back to 160. The Athanasian Creed immediately follows that of Constantinople. The commencement down to the words "Nec tres immensi," is on f. 161, verso, and it is continued and concluded on the next page. A collation of the text will be found in Appendix, Note I. The spelling, "chatolica," it may be interesting to notice in connection with the spelling of the same word in the last-mentioned MS. The writing on f. 161, on the reverse of which the Quicunque commences, is different in character from that which is found well-nigh throughout the rest of the volume. Dr. Swainson says it is *by a later hand;*[1] but the asser-

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 351.

tion is devoid of foundation, and incapable of being substantiated. I noticed the same writing in another place in the MS.—in a prayer which appears on f. 28; and possibly there might be other instances which escaped my notice. It has never occurred to the authorities of the Paris MS. department that the writing is later. The hypothesis, moreover, is absurd upon the face of it; for if this folio was written and inserted at a later period, it must have been done with the view of supplying the missing matter, which it does not supply. A person setting himself to do this, would have begun with the Te Deum at the place where the MS. now leaves off; he would then have added those documents which generally appear in Psalters, and which are now missing in this; but it is very improbable that he would have added the Creed of Constantinople, which does not commonly appear in them, and he would never have dreamt of beginning in the middle of it, at the words "Deum de Deo." Probably, too, he would have attempted to copy the writing of the rest of the codex; whereas there is no such attempt at imitation. No effort has been made to supply the lacunæ in the Old Testament Canticles, where there can be no doubt what the lost matter consists of; and is it likely that such an experiment should have been made here, where there could not be the same certainty with regard to all the lost matter? Nor is there any appearance of this folio being an after-addition, the writing occupying the proper space on each side without being expanded or contracted in a marked way. There is, therefore,

no ground for supposing that it did not belong to the MS. originally; and in all probability the rough usage which caused the loss of the preceding folio, and the others that are missing, happened in modern times. But even if it could be proved to be a later insertion made to supply the original lost matter, the result would be insignificant so far as regards the evidence which this MS. furnishes to the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed. For, inasmuch as the greater part of the Creed—from the words "Sed unus increatus" to the end—appears on the two succeeding leaves, written in the same character of writing, as Dr. Swainson admits, which is found in very nearly the whole of the volume, it is as clear as daylight that the commencement also of the Creed was contained in the MS. originally. Of the Rubric following the Quicunque, the first word alone—"Finit"—is at present legible. Then come four Litanies, which are very curious and interesting, especially as they enable us to fix with certainty the date of this Psalter. The first commences: "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat. Exaudi Christe. Leoni summo pontifici et universali papę vita. Salvator mundi, Tu illum adjuva; Sancte Petre, Tu illum adjuva." Then, after several similar invocations of Apostles and Saints on behalf of the Pope, it continues: "Exaudi Christe Carolo excellentissimo . . . atque magno et pacifico regi francorum et longobardorum ac patricio Romanorum Vita et victoria, Redemptor mundi, Tu illum adjuva," etc. Then, "Exaudi Christe Nobilissime proli regali vita. Sancta virginum Tu illam adjuva," etc.

Then, "Exaudi Christe Omnibus judicibus vel cuncto exercitui francorum Vita et victoria," etc. It ends, "Christe Te rogamus. Kurie eleison Te Feliciter Feliciter Tempora bona habeas (*sic*) Te rogamus multos annos. Amen." By the above petitions, the date of the Psalter is determined somewhere between the accession of Leo III. to the Pontificate, at the end of the year 795, and the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, at Christmas, A.D. 800. For the latter is clearly identified by the title, "Rex francorum et longobardorum ac patricius Romanorum"—the title which was usually applied to him after his conquest of Lombardy until his coronation as emperor, as might be shown abundantly from contemporary documents and records, such as letters and charters. After his coronation as emperor, he was designated "Augustus," or "Imperator Romanorum." And if Charlemagne is the king here prayed for, the Pope who is prayed for can be none other than Leo III., his contemporary. What other Charles and Leo could be intended? It is true that Leo IV., whose Pontificate lasted from 847 to 855, and Charles the Bald, were contemporaries; but Charles the Bald, though King of the Franks, was not King of the Lombards also—Lombardy not being included in his dominions, nor was he "patricius Romanorum." The evidence, therefore, that this MS. was executed some time between the end of the year 795 and Christmas Day, 800, is conclusive. A great portion of the two last lines of f. 163, recto, which were occupied with the words from "excellentissimo" to

"pacifico," inclusive, has become obliterated by the excessive wear to which that part of the page has been subjected; and the original writing has been rendered all the more difficult to recover by an attempt which has been apparently made to rewrite it. The lost part must have consisted of eulogistic epithets referring to Charles. This is a circumstance of no significance as regards our point. The words, "Regi francorum et longobardorum ac patricio Romanorum," which are material, appear distinctly, as originally written, in the top line on the reverse of the leaf. The Gallican origin of this Litany is obvious from the Saints who are invoked, among whom are SS. Martin and Hilary. Of the other Litanies which follow, two contain petitions for Pope Leo and King Charles, thus confirming the evidence, which, as we have seen, is supplied by the first, that this MS. was written prior to the coronation of the latter as emperor. In the first of the two we have the following:—

"Ut domnum apostolicum Leonem in sanctitate et religione conservare digneris, Te rogamus. Audi nos.

"Ut ei vitam et sanitatem dones, Te rogamus.

"Ut domnum carolum regem conservare digneris, Te rogamus.

"Ut ei vitam et sanitatem atque victoriam dones, Te rogamus.

"Ut proles regales conservare digneris, Te rogamus.

"Ut eis vitam et sanitatem dones, Te rogamus."

The petitions in the last, which seems to have been

drawn up for use in a school or college, are cast in a different form. The responses are to be said by the school.

"Exaudi Deus. RP̄. (*i.e.* "responsum" or "respondet") "Leoni pape vita.

"Exaudi Christe. RP̄. Carolo regi vita.

"Exaudi Deus pro liberis regalibus vita.

"Exaudi Christi exercitui Francorum vita."

The Litanies are followed by some directions as they appear to be, respecting the use of the Authentic and Plagal musical tones, or modes, described as *Autentus Protus, Plai Protus, Autentus Deuterus, Plai Deuterus*, etc. Then, on the last leaf, is a "Hymnum Die dominico," commencing, "Deus qui cœli luminis satorque lucis," and on the reverse side, near the bottom, a "Hymnum ad prima" is commenced, but is not concluded. The end, therefore, of the codex is clearly wanting.

If any further evidence of the date of this MS. were required, we might adduce the opinion of the authorities of the MS. department at Paris, who assign it confidently to the end of the eighth century. Dr Swainson found it most perplexing; he had found nothing more so.[1] And no wonder, considering that he held—possibly still holds—that the Athanasian Creed was not brought to completion till between 860 and 870, whereas in this manuscript, written at the conclusion of the preceding century, it appears whole and entire. It does not seem to have occurred to him that the cause of his perplexity lay, not in the

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 353.

MS., but in his own theory. This MS. also was unknown to Waterland.

MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA. O. 212.

I have nothing new to communicate respecting this MS., which contains the earliest known manuscript copy of the Athanasian Creed. My object in noticing it is simply to reply to some arguments, which have been urged with the view of proving it to be later than the eighth century. It will be remembered that Muratori, in his account of this MS., written at the end of the seventeenth century, pronounces it to be more than a thousand years old,[1] *i.e.* he considered it to belong to the seventh century, not later. Montfaucon, who saw the MS. in his Italian tour, assigned it to the eighth century; and the present learned librarian, Dr. Ceriani, also assigns it to the eighth century, but maintains that it is certainly not later.[2] If these experienced palæographers are right in their opinion, nothing can be clearer than that Dr. Swainson must be wrong in his theory, which, it may be as well to repeat, places the construction of the Athanasian Creed, in its completeness, between 860 and 870; for this MS. contains the Creed in its entirety. Accordingly, Dr. Rawson Lumby—who has adopted Dr. Swainson's theory in its main features, only that he sets the completion of the Quicunque

[1] MURATORI, 'Anecdota,' tom. ii. pp. 224, 225.

[2] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' by C. A. SWAINSON, p. 317; and letter in the *Guardian*, February 3, 1873, by the present DEAN of CHICHESTER.

a few years earlier—and the author of the theory have attempted to disprove the soundness of this opinion, as it was absolutely necessary to their position that they should do. Arguments from palæography they have none to produce; for they are unable to support their contention by a single authority in this branch of science. Accordingly, they rest their case upon other grounds.

To consider first Dr. Lumby's arguments. After the word "procedens," in the 22nd verse of the Creed, this Milan manuscript adds, "patri et filio co-æternus est." Upon which Dr. Lumby remarks as follows:—"This variation is of such a character as to stamp this MS. with a date posterior to the great controversy on the Procession of the Holy Ghost. It is an expansion and affirmation of the preceding portion of the verse, which could hardly be expected before that controversy had excited a considerable degree of attention, that is, at the eighth or beginning of the ninth century."[1] Now, there would be some ground for this argument, if the assertion of the co-eternity of the Third Person of the Holy Trinity with the First and the Second Persons had never been broached before the controversy in question, which took place at the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. But so far from this being the case, the co-eternity, as well as the consubstantiality, of the Holy Ghost with the Father and the Son, had been repeatedly and explicitly affirmed hundreds of years before, in opposition to

[1] 'The History of the Creeds,' by J. Rawson Lumby, p. 218.

the Arian and Macedonian heresies, by Catholic Doctors, and especially by the greatest of Latin Fathers—St. Augustine, whose writings were, in a degree surpassing those of any other Father, a potent influence in moulding the character of Western theology; and in the sixth century, so clearly was the doctrine recognized as a Catholic dogma, that the deniers of it were anathematized by the Third Council of Toledo—the Council which is famous for its repudiation of Arianism on the part of the Spanish nation.[1] It has occurred to me that the insertion of these words in the text of the Quicunque in this MS. may be accounted for by the fact that they are found in a similar connection in the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' commonly attributed to Gen-

[1] See St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Civitate Dei,' lib. xi. cap. 24: "Credimus et tenemus et fideliter prædicamus, quod . . . Spiritus Sanctus simul et Patris et Filii sit Spiritus, et ipse consubstantialis, et co-æternus ambobus." Also Ibid. 'De Trin.' I. vi. 13: "Similiter et de Spiritu Sancto collecta sunt testimonia, quibus ante nos, qui hæc disputaverunt, abundantius usi sunt, quia et ipse Deus et non creatura. . . . Quod si non creatura, non tantum Deus (nam et homines dicti sunt Dii) sed verus Deus. Ergo Patri et Filio prorsus æqualis et in Trinitatis unitate consubstantialis co-æternus." Also St. FULGENTIUS, in the early part of the sixth century: 'Contra Fabianum Fragmenta, XXXIII.: "Quem sic unum Spiritum Patris et Filii novimus, ut consubstantialem et co-æternum Patri et Filio centissime noverimus." The third Anathematism of the Third Council of Toledo, held A.D. 589, is as follows:—"Quicunque Spiritum Sanctum non credit aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere eumque non dixerit co-æternum esse Patri et Filio et co-essentialem, anathema sit." The assertion of the co-eternity of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son is also found in the profession of Faith most commonly known as 'Damasi Symbolum,' sometimes attributed to St. Jerome, which is certainly older than the eighth century.

nadius, which also appears, it must be recollected, in this same codex, and before the Quicunque. The scribe, on arriving at the clause relating to the Holy Spirit in the latter confession of Faith, would very naturally be reminded of the language which he had so recently transcribed in the previous confession respecting that Divine Person, and insert it by way of supplement. Dr. Lumby continues: "The two following variations" (viz., the adjective *rationabilis* for *rationalis*, in verses 30 and 35, and *in carne* and *in Deo*, in verse 33, for *in carnem* and *in Deum*) "prove that a text like that of the Trèves MS. was the basis on which the latter portion of the Quicunque was raised." But what is this to the point, which is, not whether the latter portion of the Quicunque was formed from the Trèves fragment, but whether this particular MS. at Milan was written subsequent to the eighth century? For, inasmuch as the Trèves fragment, or the discourse of which it is a part, cannot be of later date than the end of the seventh century (the only manuscript of it belonging to the first half of the eighth), even if it could be proved that the latter part of the Athanasian Creed was founded upon it, it would not follow that this or any other copy must needs be later than the eighth century. But really, the agreement between the Milan MS. and the Trèves fragment in these two readings may be accounted for with no less probability by the hypothesis, which I venture to maintain, that the discourse, of which that fragment was a part, was founded upon the Athanasian Creed, than by that of

Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby, which asserts that the reverse was the case. Dr. Lumby's only remaining argument it is unnecessary to examine, because it is based upon a mistake into which he, or rather Waterland, was led by Muratori's copy of the text of the Athanasian Creed in the Milan MS. According to Muratori,[1] the words of the 38th verse, "Resurgere habent cum corporibus suis et," are omitted; but I am assured by the Rev. D. M. Clerk, Rector of Kingston Deverill, Wilts, who possesses a photograph fac-simile of the manuscript, that this is not the case; only he says, that "in" is read for "cum." Thus every one of Dr. Lumby's arguments breaks down, and there is not the slightest ground for his conclusion "that the Ambrosian copy of the Creed cannot lay claim to a greater antiquity than A.D. 800, or it may be as late as A.D. 850."

Dr. Swainson's arguments, if they can be called so, are as follows:—"There is much," he says, "of curious interest in this copy of the Quicunque. First: I must draw attention to its peculiar position. It is preceded by what may be, and probably is, a prayer to the Virgin, at the end of a sermon; and it is followed, even in the same line, by an undoubted apostrophe to the Virgin, and then by a sermon on the ascension of our Lord. Thus it appears amongst a collection of sermons, or discourses, on the Faith. Secondly: The Latin is accurate throughout. This seems to me to indicate that if the manuscript is of the eighth century, it was written after the revival of

[1] 'Anecdota,' vol. ii. p. 225.

learning under Charles the Great. Thirdly: Alcuin is known to have collected and reduced to order some two hundred homilies of Augustine, Chrysostom, Leo, Bede, and others. . . . Fourthly: And the following passage, occurring in a letter written by Alcuin, and printed by Baluzius, reminded me of the apostrophe, *Lacta Mater Eum*. 'If it were possible for the Blessed Virgin to give birth to a son of her own, which son was from eternity the Son of God, how was it impossible for God the Father to have as His own Son a man who was in time (ex tempore) born of the Virgin?' I fancy I see here a fondness for antitheses, and in the end of the letter, antitheses like this appear in greater numbers. Thus I am led to connect the Bobio manuscript before us with Alcuin."[1] In this specimen of clear and cogent reasoning, it is asserted, first, that the Quicunque in the Milan MS. "is preceded by what may be, and probably is, a prayer to the Virgin, at the end of a sermon." At the end of his volume, Dr. Swainson has subjoined a fac-simile of the commencement of the Quicunque as it appears in this manuscript, together with the conclusion of the document immediately preceding it. That document concludes with the following exhortation to prayer to our Blessed Lord:—"Excubent suffragia orationum tuarum ad Jhesum Christum Dominum nostrum cui gloria in saecula saeculorum." But there is no mention of the Virgin, no trace or shadow of any prayer to her. Next, it is stated that "the Latin is accurate throughout;" but supposing it to be so, this would

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 320, 321.

be no proof that the MS. was written after the eighth century. MSS. of the ninth and tenth centuries are not remarkable for the correctness of their Latinity. Third, Dr. Swainson *connects* the MS. with Alcuin, whatever that may mean. And this conclusion is arrived at by two processes of reasoning, the first of which would seem to be such as this: Alcuin was a collector of sermons; but this MS. is a collection of sermons: therefore it has some connection with Alcuin. Several points in this syllogism require examination; but it is unnecessary to go into them, the minor premiss being untenable. For, according to Muratori,[1] the contents of the MS. are as follows—Gennadius's 'Liber de Dogmatibus,' here entitled, "Dogmatis liber fidei;" the Faith of Bachiarius; the Athanasian Creed; a sermon on the Ascension; a fragment on the Trinity; and the confession of the Faith commonly known as "Hieronymi Fides." From this it is sufficiently evident that the MS. is rather a collection of professions of Faith than of sermons. Dr. Swainson's other reason for connecting this MS. with Alcuin is that he traces a certain similarity of style between a passage produced by him from a letter by Alcuin, which was published by Baluze, and the following, which appears in the MS. immediately after the Athanasian Creed:—"Lacta mater eum qui talem fecit te, ut ipse fieret in te Lacta mater eum, qui fructum fecunditatis tibi dedit conceptus et decus virginitatus non abstulit natus." The supposed similarity consists in a fondness for

[1] 'Anecdota,' vol. ii. pp. 224, 225.

antitheses. But others of the Fathers, and not Alcuin alone, were fond of antithetical writing; none more so than the master whose thoughts, and even words, Alcuin was in the habit of reproducing, and who freely exercised his skill and taste in this respect when treating of the subject of the Incarnation. In the following passages from St. Augustine, not only the same doctrines, but also the very expressions, which appear in the above "apostrophe to the Virgin," will be found, making it evident that the source from which it was drawn, directly or indirectly, was not Alcuin, but Alcuin's master. "Nullo modo Christus *matrem nascendo faceret deteriorem*, ut cui *munus fœcunditatis adtulerat, decus virginitatis auferret.*"[1] "Non enim Virgo libidine sed fide concepit. Venit in Virginem, qui erat ante Virginem. Quam creavit, elegit; *quam eligeret, creavit.* Adtulit Virgini *fœcunditatem, non abstulit integritatem.*"[2] "Virginem matrem non lege carnis peccati, id est, non concupiscentiæ carnalis motu concipientem, sed ipsa fide sanctum germen *in se fieri* promerentem, *quam eligeret, creavit; de qua crearetur, elegit.*"[3] "Elegit, in qua conciperetur; creavit matrem suam. *Elegit, in qua conciperetur; creavit, de qua crearetur.*"[4] "Si omnia per ipsum facta sunt, et ipsa Maria, de qua natus est, per ipsum facta est. Quomodo ergo ille, quasi ceteri homines, nasceretur, qui *sibi fecit matrem, de qua nasceretur.*"[5] On the other hand, on comparing the

[1] AUGUSTINI 'Con. Faustum,' lib. xii. cap. 4.
[2] Ibid. 'Ser. lxix. de Verbis Evan. Matt. xi.'
[3] Ibid. 'De Peccatorum Meritis,' lib. ii. cap. xxiv. sect. 38.
[4] Ibid. 'Ser.' cxix. [5] Ibid. 'Enar in Psalm lxxv.' 1.

passage from the MS. which relates to the Blessed Virgin—the grace by which she was made meet to become the instrument of the Incarnation, and her perpetual virginity—and that quoted by Dr. Swainson from a letter by Alcuin, which evidently relates to a different subject, viz., Adoptionism, it is impossible to discover any actual identity of expression, or even any such resemblance of style, as would prove that the one was drawn from the other, or that both were from the same hand. In conclusion, after reviewing the attempts that have been made to prove this MS. to be of a later date than the eighth century, I submit confidently that every one of them fails of its purpose; whilst the belief that it belongs to that century at the latest, rests upon the high palæographical authorities of Muratori, Montfaucon, and the present Milan Librarian.

Ancient Canon, requiring the Clergy to learn the Athanasian Creed by Heart.

The "Epistola Canonica" containing this Canon, which the Ballerini brothers deem to be as old as the early part of the sixth century, is found in a collection of Canons, of which there are two manuscript copies at Rome:—Barberini, 2888, and Vatican, 1342.[1] The former of these MSS. is assigned by

[1] Ballerini 'De Antiquis Collectionibus,' pars. ii. cap. vii. in Galland's 'Sylloge Dissertationum.' See also the remarks of the same learned canonists in their treatise 'De Auctore Symboli Quicunque,' also published by Galland, in his 'Sylloge,' under the head of "Editorum Observationes in Dissertationem, ii. Quesnelli." I have on a previous occasion drawn attention to this Canon: 'Atha-

Reifferscheid to the ninth or tenth century,[1] the latter by Professor Maassen to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.[2] But in the opinion of Montfaucon, the Vatican MS. was written about the eighth century, and he calls it "Codex elegantissimus et antiquissimus."[3] The discrepancy is remarkable; and it seems very improbable that such a very experienced palæographer as Montfaucon should have been in error to the extent of a century at least respecting the date of a manuscript. Has Maassen confounded this MS. with the other containing the same collection which, according to Reifferscheid, belongs to the date assigned by him to this? Or does his opinion refer to the later hand in which some documents are written at the close of the collection? But the date of the manuscript, whatever it be, cannot determine the date of the collection which is contained in it, except as indicating the latest period which can be assigned to its compilation. From the collection containing no document of a later date than the early part of the sixth century, it would appear to have been drawn up in the middle of that century at the latest. The last in order of the documents comprised in it is the 'Fides Romanorum,' here entitled, "Fides

nasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 312, 313.

[1] 'Die Römischen Bibliotheken, von Dr. Aug. Reifferscheid,' published in *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften—Philosophisch-Historische Classe*, band liii. 1866.

[2] MAASSEN, 'Bibliotheca Latina juris Canonici Manuscripta,' published in the above-mentioned periodical, band liii. p. 395.

[3] MONTFAUCON, 'Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum,' p. 131.

catholicæ Romanæ ecclesiæ." The "epistola canonica quam debent adimplere presbyteri diaconi subdiaconi" is the thirtieth among the ninety titles.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, LATIN, 10,592.

Dr. Swainson has been misinformed respecting this codex, which he represents as containing "a Psalter in Greek and Latin, at the end of some of St. Cyprian's works."[1] Having seen the volume, I am able to affirm, from my own knowledge, that it contains only some works of St. Cyprian; and the description of it in the catalogue is "Œuvres de St. Cyprien. VII.e s. Ecriture Onciale." Ont he fly-leaf appears a note, which was probably the cause of Dr. Swainson's mistake. It is as follows:—"S. Germ. ('Olim Cois.' 185) Codex septimi circiter sæculi unciali charactere complectitur primo." Then follows a list of the works of St. Cyprian contained in the codex; after which the note continues: "Deinde sequitur psalterium Græce et Latine, ita ut versio Latina oppositam paginan occupet, unciali charactere sine accentibus et spiritibus sexto vel septimo sæculo descriptum, initio et fine mutilum. Incipit a Psalm. xviii. cujus prior pars desideratur, et desinit in lxxii., cujus posterior pars deest." On reading this, I searched once more for the Psalter at the end of the volume, but in vain. At last I found a second note, written on the inside of the cover, which explains the difficulty. "Nonnulla Cypriani opera. Codex CLXXXV. cum CLXXXVI. compactus erat. Sed post translationem . . .

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 339.

librorum impressorum Bibliothecæ Germanensis tegumento spoliatus in duos codices divisus est. CLXXXV. nonnulla Cypriani opera." It is clear, therefore, that in the library of the Abbey of St. Germain des Près, the two MSS.—one numbered 185 and identical with this now numbered 10,592 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the other numbered 186, and containing the mutilated Psalter—were bound together; but in 1794, after their transference to the National Collection, they were divided, and newly bound in separate volumes. As regards the history of the Athanasian Creed, this mutilated Psalter is obviously quite immaterial, because, being imperfect at the end, there is no evidence to show whether or not originally it contained any additional matter. As, therefore, it could supply nothing to my purpose, and moments in a public library are precious, I did not inquire for it. Dr. Swainson's informant could not have examined the MS. very carefully.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, LATIN, 11,947.

This ancient Psalter, known as the Psalter of St. Germain, and assigned to the sixth century, has no Canticles, or Hymns, or Creeds subjoined—nothing but the apocryphal 151st Psalm, with which it concludes. It is imperfect at the commencement, some leaves being lost. It is written on purple vellum, in letters of silver, but the titles of honour are in gold. This interesting relic of antiquity belonged formerly to the Abbey of St. Germain des Près.

THE 'FIDES ROMANORUM' AND THE 'DAMASI SYMBOLUM.'

IT is desirable to give some account of these two ancient and kindred professions of Faith, as their history is not only curious and instructive, but also serves to illustrate that of the Athanasian Creed.

The earliest collection of Canons in which the first-named of these professions is to be found, is probably that which is contained in the two Roman manuscripts, Barberini, 2888 and Vat. 1342, and which has been already mentioned as belonging to the sixth century. It is the last document in the collection, and is entitled, "Fides catholicae Romanae ecclesiae."[1] It is also found in the ancient collection edited by Quesnel from a MS. belonging to Oriel College, Oxford, but without the name of any author prefixed, or apparently any title at all.[2] Quesnel also mentions an instance of a fragment of it being found in connection with the acts of the Council of Chalcedon, where it is described as "Fides Roma-

[1] BALLERINI 'De Antiquis Collectionibus Canonum,' pars. ii. cap. vii.; to be found in GALLAND'S 'Sylloge,' vol. i.

[2] QUESNELLI 'Dissertatio,' ii.; 'De Variis Fidei Libellis," vii.; also in GALLAND'S 'Sylloge.'

norum." And under this title it appears in the Paris MS., Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 1451—a manuscript previously noticed as containing an early Gallican Collection, preceded by the Quicunque, and bearing date between Christmas, 795, and Christmas, 800. The document, as it there appears, is printed in Appendix H. According to Professor Maassen, it is found in the larger Hadriana—by which, I presume, he means the collection given by Pope Hadrian I. to Charlemagne—under the former of these titles; and in the collections of the MS. of Pithou and of that of St. Maur, under the latter. But clearly this profession was not always described as the Faith of the Romans or of the Roman Church; for it forms the seventh in a series of twelve ancient professions contained in two Paris MSS. of the tenth century, which belong to the Bibliothèque Nationale, and are numbered 2076 and 2341; and it is headed with the title, "Exemplar fidei catholice," but, remarkably enough, in the list which precedes the series it is described by another title, "Fides catholica ab ortodoxis patribus exposita." The latter codex is a bulky volume, containing a great number of documents, and in the portion which comprises the series of professions of Faith, the contents seem to be identical with those of the former codex; which shows that, as far as regards this portion, either they were both drawn from the same source or one was copied from the other. The De Thou MS. 199, mentioned by Quesnel (vide ubi supra), if not identical with one of these MSS., must have belonged to the same stock; evidently it

contained the same series of professions. As early as the ninth century, the profession of Faith of which we are treating was regarded in the north of France as the work of St. Athanasius. As such, it is quoted by Hincmar: "Athanasius in symbolo dicens se credere in Christum, præmissis aliis, assumptum in cœlis, sedere in dextera Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos expectamus, in hujus morte et sanguine remissionem peccatorum consecuturi."[1] This quotation possesses additional interest because, until recently, it was supposed to be made from the Quicunque. As such, too, it is quoted by Ratramn of Corbie, who describes it by the term, "Libellus fidei." "Item," he is referring to Athanasius, "sic ait, Pater verus genuit Filium verum, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, vitam de vita, perfectum de perfecto, totum a toto, plenum a pleno; non creatum, sed genitum; non ex nihilo, sed a Patre; unius substantiæ cum Patre; et Spiritum Sanctum verum Deum, non ingenitum neque genitum, non creatum, nec factum, sed Patris et Filii, semper in Patre et Filio."[2] Hincmar's treatise, 'De Prædestinatione,' was written about the year 856; Ratramn's, against the Greeks, about 869. In connection with the circumstance of this profession being attributed to St. Athanasius in the ninth and following centuries, it must be noticed that it became associated in MSS. with works which, in that age, were universally, but erroneously, believed to have been written by the

[1] HINCMARI 'De Prædestinatione Dissertatio Posterior,' sect. 309.
[2] RATRAMNI 'Contra Græcorum Opposita,' lib. iii. cap. 6.

great Saint and Doctor. There are numerous MSS. of the Middle Ages in existence, in which this is the case. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, 1683 and 1684, the former of the twelfth century, the latter perhaps of the end of the eleventh, may be mentioned as instances; also a MS. of the British Museum, assigned, but doubtfully, to the eleventh—Arundel, 241, and in the same library, Reg. 6, B. XIII., a MS. of the twelfth century, bearing Cranmer's autograph, and containing the same documents as Paris, 1684; and this was the case, too, with a St. Germain's MS. No. 724, assigned by Montfaucon to the end of the eleventh century, and described by him in the "In libros de Trinitate admonitio," which appears in his edition of St. Athanasius. In these four manuscripts the profession of Faith which we are referring to is found following eight books of Athanasius upon the Trinity, and it is followed by another book, also ascribed to him, 'De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto.' Was the ascription of this profession to St. Athanasius the cause or the effect of its being thus intermixed with these works? I am inclined to believe it was the effect; and of this I think I can trace some indication in these codices. In three of them—Paris, 1684, the Arundel, and the St. Germain's MSS.—the following Rubric is subjoined to the eighth book: "Explicit liber octavus Dei" (the Paris MS. has "fidei") "Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Athanasii episcopi" ("Athanasii episcopi" are omitted by the Paris MS.). "Hos libellos octo transcripsi, qui multa addita et immutata con-

tinent. Incipit libellus fidei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Athanasii episcopi. Cum legeris per hanc fidem moneo, ut mei minor sis in orationibus tuis, ne forsitan negligenter quisquam hoc obtrectator contingat, quia scriptum est, ne projiciatis margaritas vestras ante porcos." In the Arundel MS., from "cum legeris" is in minuscules, the same as the text generally is written in. But in Paris, 1683, which is a large and handsome volume, and elaborately written, the Rubric appears in a simpler and obviously earlier form. At the end of the eighth book on the Trinity, we have, in large capitals in alternate lines of red and blue, "Explicit liber VIII. fidei Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Athanasii episcopi." And then the profession is introduced by the title, "Expositio fidei catholice," which does not follow the preceding, but appears at the side of the page, and is written in minuscules, not capitals. And with this title it is concluded in both the Paris MSS. and the Arundel one, "Explicit expositio fidei catholice." It will be remembered that in two other Paris manuscripts it is described by a very similar title, "Exemplar fidei catholice." It would seem, then, that some copyist, finding this profession of Faith subjoined to the eight books on the Trinity attributed to Athanasius, but without being ascribed to any author, concluded that it must be his work, and borrowed for it in part the title of the eighth book. And the error was multiplied by being copied. The reason of these eight books being attributed to St. Athanasius is obvious enough, inasmuch as most of them are cast

into the form of a discussion, in which that Doctor replies to the arguments of a heretic.

In modern times, conjecture has been busy respecting the authorship of this profession. Quesnel attributed it to Gregory Bæticus;[1] the Ballerini to Gregory Nanianzen;[2] in the Benedictine edition of Gregory Nanianzen, it appears as the fiftieth oration of that Father, with the title, "De fide orthodoxa contra Arianos tractatus secundus;" but its genuineness is denied by the editors, who father it upon Phæbadius Aginnensis. Lastly, in the seventeenth century it was edited by Chifflet as the ninth book of Vigilius Tapsensis, 'De Trinitate,' and so it appears in the edition of Migne's 'Patrologia,' which is a reprint of Chifflet's. The first eight books in this supposed work of Vigilius are the eight books attributed to St. Athanasius, to which, as has been previously noticed, the profession of Faith is found subjoined in MSS.; and Chifflet edited, as the twelfth and last book of the same work, the book also attributed to Athanasius, 'De Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto,' by which it is followed in these codices; his tenth and eleventh books he got from a Fleury manuscript. And he accounted for this work having previously passed for Athanasius's by the hypothesis that it had been written and published by Vigilius under the name of the great defender of the Faith. But the hypothesis is purely conjectural, and the same well-

[1] 'Quesnelli Dissertatio ii. De Variis Fidei Libellis,' in GALLAND'S 'Dissertationum Sylloge,' tom. i.

[2] 'Editorum Observationes in Dissertationem ii. Quesnelli;' also in GALLAND'S 'Sylloge.'

nigh may be said of the authorship of Vigilius, which has no evidence worth the name to support it. Before Chifflet's time, these same books, including our profession of Faith, had been printed, but with a different arrangement, as the work of Athanasius on the Trinity; and they were so edited by Holstenius so late as the year 1686. In this edition, the profession of Faith is relegated to the eleventh book, in which, as in the MSS. above mentioned, it is followed by the work, 'De Trinitate et de Spiritu Sancto,' which alone constitutes the twelfth book in Chifflet's edition, and which, by the way, is believed by Montfaucon to be a genuine work of Athanasius. As to these various opinions respecting the authorship of our profession of Faith, not one of them rests upon any solid foundation. Thus much only is certain, that it is composed of two distinct professions, which indeed are found separately, but in immediate juxta-position, the first introduced by the words "Incipit expositio fidei;" the second by the words "Incipit ejusdem sermo," in the very interesting Paris manuscript, which contains the Trèves fragment, commonly, but inaccurately, regarded as a fragment of the Athanasian Creed—Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin, 3836. Copies of these I have given in Appendix H. According to Maassen, they may be found in other manuscripts also in the same separate form. It is also remarkable that in Paris, 1451, the 'Fides Romanorum,' and in Paris, 3836, the two professions of which it is composed are preceded by the same document, viz., a series of Anathematisms, or a profession of Faith, sometimes

called "Epistola decretalis," which was adopted by a Synod held at Rome under Pope Damasus, probably in the year A.D. 378, and sent to Paulinus of Antioch.[1] The circumstance suggests a possible, and I venture to think not improbable, account of the origin of the title, "Fides Romanorum," or "Fides Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Romanæ." In an uncritical age a scribe, finding in the manuscript from which he was copying the same arrangement that we see here, may have inferred that the same Synod which had drawn up the first profession should be credited with the one immediately succeeding; and then he described the latter in his own copy in accordance with this impression. And others would copy this description without question. Occurrences of this nature I believe to have been very common, and to have been a fruitful cause, in the Middle Ages, of error with respect to the authorship of documents. It is evident that the scribe of Paris, 1451, did not copy from Paris, 3836, because the 'Fides Romanorum' in the former MS. contains words which are wanting in the two professions of which it is composed as they appear in the latter.

The profession of Faith most commonly known as 'Damasi Symbolum,' bears an evident relation to the 'Fides Romanorum;' for the two documents have a coincidence of expression in several places, which shows that they were both drawn in part from the same source. Still, it would be a mistake to regard

[1] See PAGI 'Critica in Baronii Annales,' an. 378, sect. xiv.; also CASSIODORI 'Historia Tripartita,' ix. 16.

them as only various forms of the same profession. They are clearly distinct, each of them containing much which has no place in the other, and the differences being too great to be classed as mere variations of reading. This will appear from the copy of the document, which I give in Appendix H, from the Paris MS. Latin, 1684, and a comparison of it with the other profession. It appears at the end of that MS. after the works attributed to St. Athanasius, one of which is, as before stated, the 'Fides Romanorum;' and it is immediately preceded by another profession of Faith, which is introduced by the words "Incipit de fide Sancti Hieronymi." It is headed by the description, "Item ejusdem de fide apud Bethleem," and is thus clearly ascribed to St. Jerome. It appears also in the series of professions found in the Paris Latin MSS., 2076 and 2341, and already mentioned as containing the 'Fides Romanorum;' and there also it is attributed to St. Jerome, being described as, "Fides dicta a sancto Hieronymo (or Hieronmo) presbitero," and in the list of titles as, "Fides catholica dicta a sancto iheronymo presbitero." In this series it is immediately preceded by the Athanasian Creed, which stands fourth in the number, and has a corresponding title, "Fides dicta a sancto athanasio episcopo," but in the list of titles, "Fides catholica dicta a sancto athanasio episcopo alexandrino." The 'Damasi Symbolum,' according to Quesnel, bears the same title that is applied to it in these two Paris MSS., in a MS. of De Thou, which seems by his account to have contained also the

above-named series of professions. The mere fact, by the way, of the 'Damasi Symbolum' and the 'Fides Romanorum' both being found in this series, is a further evidence that they are two distinct documents, not identical, as they are sometimes erroneously supposed to be. It may not be amiss to mention here that the former of these professions, although thus expressly and repeatedly attributed to St. Jerome, as well as the other profession which is likewise attributed to him in Paris, 1684, is perfectly different from the well-known exposition usually entitled, "Fides Hieronymi," and, since the time of Bellarmine and Launoy, commonly supposed to be the work of Pelagius. The profession of which we are treating appears in Erasmus's edition, and, I believe, in other printed editions, of St. Jerome's works, with the title by which it is generally designated, 'Damasi Symbolum;' and doubtless it was so edited, because it was found with this designation in manuscripts containing works of St. Jerome. Erasmus repudiates the notion that it was composed by that Father. The commencement of it, a copy of which is given in Appendix H, is found in a British Museum MS. of the eighth century, with the remarkable title of "Fides Catholica." This MS., which has for its press-mark, Reg. 2, A XX., was evidently written in England, and, in Mr. Thompson's opinion, in the north. It is a manual of devotions, and contains, *inter alia*, the Lord's Prayer; the Apostles' Creed in an early form; the Magnificat; the Benedictus; the Benedicite, with a hymn prefixed; the Gloria in

excelsis; and this last is followed by the "Fides Catholica" just mentioned, which was no doubt copied from an earlier manuscript; and possibly supplies us with the germ out of which the 'Damasi Symbolum' and the 'Fides Romanorum,' or rather the first of the two professions, of which it was composed, grew. It will be observed that the commencement of the 'Damasi Symbolum' corresponds exactly with this 'Fides Catholica,' and that the commencement of the 'Fides Romanorum' and that of the first profession in Paris, 3836, bear a resemblance to it, which indicates that they must both have been drawn from it directly or indirectly; but neither of them coincide with it exactly—an evidence that the 'Damasi Symbolum' was not drawn from the 'Fides Romanorum.' The 'Damasi Symbolum' possesses an interest in relation to the history of the Athanasian Creed, on account of its obvious connection with the Commentary of Fortunatus. But it is needless to dwell upon that point here, as we have considered it already.

The profession of Faith which appears in Sermo 235, in the appendix to St. Augustine's works, and is entitled, "De fide catholica," has been compiled from the 'Damasi Symbolum' and the 'Fides Romanorum;' but chiefly from the former. It comprises almost the whole of the former; but some few passages are omitted, and others from the latter are here and there inserted and incorporated. It contains very little—only a few words—which is not to be found in the one or the other.

REMARKS ON THE TEXT OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

IN Appendix I, I have given the text of the Athanasian Creed as it is printed in Waterland's 'Critical History,' which text differs but little from that in the Roman Breviary, together with various readings from fourteen ancient manuscripts of the Creed, ranging in date from the end of the eighth century to the eleventh, which I have collated. One of these, however, viz., the Utrecht Psalter, has been assigned, it must be recollected, by some palæographers, notably the late Sir T. Duffus Hardy, to a much earlier period—the sixth century. I have not included any variations from the Trèves fragment, which has been preserved in Paris, 3836, and which has been commonly, but erroneously, described as the Colbertine MS. of the Quicunque vult, because the MS. in which it is contained belonged formerly to Colbert's library; and my reason is this, that that fragment is really not a copy of the Quicunque nor of a portion of it, but of a portion of an address, or sermon, to catechumens, in which the language of the latter part of that profession of Faith is largely employed, not quoted or incorporated word for word, but freely adapted,

for the purpose of giving instruction respecting the doctrine of the Incarnation. Such being the nature of this fragment, clearly it cannot be adduced for the purpose of ascertaining the true or early text of the Athanasian Creed, although it does afford undeniable evidence of its existence prior to the eighth century.[1]

The examination of these various readings will suffice to show, first, that the text of the Creed, as it appears in the ancient MSS. which supply them, is substantially the same in all, presenting no material difference; and, second, that that text differs but little from the present received text. The variations, it will be observed, are almost all of a very trivial nature, arising from inadvertence on the part of the copyists, or amounting to mere differences of spelling; and there are none which affect the substance or sense in any important degree. The only point of any significance at all, in which the ancient MS. text differs from the ordinary modern printed one, is in the reading of "carne" and "Deo," in the 33rd verse, for "carnem" and "Deum." To this I propose to advert by-and-by. The arrangement of verses 8, 9, and 10, in Paris, 1451, is very noticeable, particularly as it is, I believe I am correct in saying, peculiar to that manuscript. And the same text which is found in these MSS. which I have collated, appears in every other ancient copy which has been brought to light, without any material diversity. The Milan MS.,

[1] May I refer to the remarks on this subject in my previous work, 'The Athanasian Creed: Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 228–236?

which is the oldest of all, if the Utrecht Psalter does not belong to the sixth or seventh century, presents but two variations from the usual type of any note at all. It adds the words "patri et filio co-æternus est" after "procedens," in the 22nd verse, and omits "ante sæcula genitus" in the 29th. The first of these has been previously noticed; the second is obviously an omission from mere inadvertence.

In two of the earliest of the collated MSS., viz., Paris, 4858 and 13,159, it will be observed that the Athanasian Creed appears without any title, as it does also in the Milan MS. In the Utrecht Psalter and Troyes, 804, it is described as "Fides Catholica," "catholicam" in the former being manifestly a barbarism. In the others it is attributed to St. Athanasius.

The striking accordance of the ancient MSS., as regards the text of the Creed, is particularly remarkable with reference to the Condemnatory clauses. Not a single manuscript of the Creed has been found from which they are absent or in which they are found with any important variation from the received text. The Trèves fragment cannot be cited as an exception, for the reason, above mentioned, that it is not a copy of the Creed nor even of a portion of it. All the copies of the Commentary of Fortunatus, with the exception of that at Milan, omit to quote the 2nd verse, but they also omit to quote many other verses; and such omission is no proof whatever of their absence or of the absence of any one of them from the text of the Creed at the time when the Com-

mentary was composed. The same may be said of the Troyes Commentary, which likewise omits to quote the 2nd verse, and also omits to quote much of the Creed besides, much more, indeed, than the Commentary of Fortunatus does, although it clearly has for its subject the whole of the document. The omission of the words "absque dubio" in the 2nd verse by Paris, 4858, cannot be deemed significant, inasmuch as that is the only ancient MS. from which they are absent.

Verse 25. It may be noticed that ten of the manuscripts collated by me read, "trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate," differing from the received text. This, then, appears to have been the reading in most ancient copies. It is found also in the Milan MS. Dr. Swainson conjectures that the modern reading, viz., "unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate," is derived from the Prayer-book, or Psalter, of Charles the Bald, the alteration of the text having arisen, as he supposes, from a mistake of the scribe. In his account of that MS.,[1] he says that it has in the text, "et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit," omitting the words "et trinitas in unitate," which are added in the margin, and the mark of omission has been inserted after the word "trinitate." He considers that this mark was inserted by mistake in the wrong place, "and that thus the modern order of the words originated." But this conjecture is obviously without ground, and the above collations prove it to be erroneous. For on the one hand, six of the ten

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 366.

manuscripts which have "trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate," are certainly later than the Psalter of Charles the Bald, which must have been written some time between December, A.D. 842, and October, A.D. 869, as appears by the prayer for his wife, Hermintrude. So that this reading evidently continued, and was probably the most common of the two, after the execution of that Psalter. And on the other hand, the reading of the present text is found in one of these manuscripts, which is certainly *earlier* than Charles the Bald's Psalter, viz., Paris, 3848 B—a clear proof that it could not have originated in the manner conjectured by Dr. Swainson.

Verse 28. "Deus pariter et homo est" seems to have been the ancient reading. It will be observed that five only of these fourteen collated MSS. omit the word "pariter." From Paris, 13,159, it has evidently been erased, and was there originally. The reading derives much support from the Commentary of Fortunatus, which quotes the words, "pariter" appearing in all the manuscript copies of that Commentary, with one exception—Paris, 1008. But in that MS. also it was evidently written originally, and, singularly enough, has been erased, as in Paris, 13,159, of which the lacuna after "Deus" is an evident proof. "Pariter" also appears in the passage as quoted in the Paris Commentary.

Verse 29. Dr. Swainson thinks that the words "ante sæcula genitus" did not originally form part of the text, his only ground for this opinion being that they are not in the text in the Milan MS., but

only appear in the margin added by a later hand.[1] But the omission, doubtless, was purely accidental. The words are found in all the other early MSS. In one only of those which I have collated are they wanting, and that, though a sumptuous and magnificent manuscript, cannot from its date be deemed a high authority—Paris, 11,550. There also the words are absent from the text, and have been added in the margin. He also thinks that they had no place in the Trèves fragment originally. True, they are in that document, as we have it in Paris, 3836; but then, "it will remembered," he says, "that the line in the Colbertine manuscript (Paris, 3836) was erased and rewritten to enable the same words to be introduced."[2] This is pure assumption. That the line containing the words has been rewritten after erasure cannot be doubted, I think, by any person who carefully examines the manuscript. There are marks of erasure all along; and the line is written in rather a smaller hand than the rest of the document, and it is much crowded together. The words, too, "Deus est," seem added on to the line preceding, as if they had not been there originally. But if this is evident, it is equally evident that the line was rewritten by the original hand that wrote the MS. The writing is so very peculiar as to make this obvious. The peculiar form of the letter *a* in "matris," which occurs in several other places in this MS., may be adduced as one indication of the identity. What is the con-

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 319, 321.

[2] Ibid. p. 219, note.

clusion? That the scribe, finding after he had made his copy that he had omitted certain words of the original document from this line, first erased it, then wrote "dš est" at the end of the preceding line, and rewrote the whole line small enough to admit of the omitted words being brought in. But how is it possible for Dr. Swainson, or any one else in the present day, to divine what those words were? Certain it is, whatever they were, they must have been in the original document at Trèves, which the scribe copied. Else why did he put himself to so much trouble for the purpose of inserting them when he found that they were omitted? This, too, is implied in his introductory account: "Haec invini Treveris in uno libro scriptum." This erasure, then, and rewriting can prove nothing to Dr. Swainson's point. The line in question is as follows:—"De substancia patris ante saecula genitus. Et homo de substancia matris in saeculo natus per."

Moreover, it is most improbable that the words in question should not have been in the original text of the Quicunque, because they are essential to the sense, asserting, as they do, a great verity of the Catholic Faith, frequently and largely inculcated by the Fathers (but by none more than St. Augustine, whose theology is so clearly reflected in this Creed), and formulated by very numerous early professions of Faith in the same words, or their equivalent, notably the Creed of Constantinople. And this assertion of the Saviour's nativity of the Father before the worlds, or before time was, in the former part of the

verse, has an obvious analogy and correspondence, which must have been intended, with the assertion of His nativity in the world, or in time, which appears in the latter part—both nativities being alike insisted on. So that without these words, the Quicunque would give an imperfect statement of the Catholic Faith on the Incarnation, it would be deficient in a particular which is commonly found in doctrinal definitions and confessions, the nicely adjusted balance in the teaching, as well as the rhythm, of the verse would be destroyed, and the sense would be jejune. Nothing can show this more clearly than the interpretation which Dr. Swainson applies to the verse, as he supposes it to have been constructed originally. "I am disposed to think," he says, "that both here and in the Trèves original of the Colbertine manuscript, the reading was distinctly this: *Deus est ex substantia Patris, homo est ex substantia Matris in sæculo natus.* 'He is God of the substance of His Father, He is man of the substance of His mother, born in the world,' *i.e.* 'He that is born in the world is God and man.'"[1] This he describes as "the original meaning." But if this were all the meaning, the verse would be quite superfluous, inasmuch as the preceding one affirms our Lord Jesus Christ to be both God and man.

Further, this verse of the Quicunque and the preceding bear an evident resemblance to the following passage of St. Augustine:[2]—"Proinde Christus Jesus,

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 321.
[2] 'Enchir.' lib. i. cap. 35.

Dei Filius, est et Deus et homo. Deus ante omnia sæcula, homo in nostro sæculo." Bearing this in mind, and bearing in mind, too, the obvious correspondence of thought, and even of language, which prevails in the Creed generally with the words of the same Father, is it possible to avoid the conviction that here, as elsewhere, the author of it built upon the lines laid down by the great master whose writings have had the most powerful effect, beyond comparison with those of any uninspired teacher, in moulding the theology of Western Christendom? And if so, what can be more improbable than that the disciple should have omitted an essential point in his master's teaching? And this improbability is the more striking, if the following passage of St. Vincent of Lerins, which contains the very words regarded by Dr. Swainson as an after-insertion in this verse of the Creed, are compared with it:—"Idem ex Patre ante secula genitus, idem in seculo ex Matre generatus, perfectus Deus, perfectus homo."[1]

Verse 33. The received modern text has "in carnem" and "in Deum;" but "in carne" and "in Deo" are found in the ancient manuscripts almost universally; indeed, in all the oldest and most important. The latter readings, it will be observed, appear in all the MSS. collated by me, except Paris, 11,550, and Troyes, 1979, the former being of the eleventh century, the latter of the tenth. The Troyes manuscript, moreover, though beautifully written, cannot be deemed a high authority in reference to the

[1] 'Commonitorium Primum,' sect. 13.

text of the Creed, as it presents the text only in a series of quotations in a Commentary. The oldest MS. known, Milan, Ambros. O. 212, also reads "in carne" and "in Deo." Of the manuscripts of Fortunatus's Commentary, the Milan codex, which is of a late date (the end of the eleventh century), and the Bamberg MS. of the ninth, alone apparently quote the words according to the received text. The Paris Commentary quotes them as usually found in the old MSS. Waterland, however, considered the readings "in carne" and "in Deo" erroneous, and regarded the error as one of old standing. And, notwithstanding the great preponderance of MS. authority in support of them, I venture to think it far from certain (if I may be allowed to hazard an opinion on the subject) that they were the readings that came from the hand of the composer of the Quicunque. The oldest MS. at present known is probably not earlier than the eighth century, certainly not than the end of the seventh, no one having assigned to it a higher antiquity; and manuscripts of the eighth and succeeding centuries are not remarkable for a strict adherence to the ordinary rules of Latin grammar. An ablative will be often found where we should expect an accusative, as well as the converse. But the language had become corrupted as early as the sixth century; and it is very possible that these readings, which we find in the oldest MSS. of the Quicunque, may be due to the barbarous Latinity of some scribe or scribes in that century or the next. And the error, once introduced, would be propagated with the multiplication of copies.

Then it is highly probable that the present received readings were originally in the text, from the fact of their being in accordance with the diction of St. Augustine, in the numerous passages where he notices the error which is the subject of this verse. That the author of the Creed should have departed in this particular instance from his usual practice of adopting the terminology of his master, is obviously improbable. In this point of view let the following passages of St. Augustine be considered, especially the first, which the author of the Creed must have been very familiar with, if he did not have it actually before him; for the resemblance extends to the two next verses, and is even more close and verbal in them than in the verse we are noticing:—"Quod Verbum caro factum est, non Verbum in carnem pereundo cessit, sed caro ad Verbum, ne periret, accessit, ut quemadmodum homo est anima et caro, sic esset Christus Deus et homo; idem Deus, qui homo, et, qui Deus, idem homo, non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ."[1] "Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem Divinitate mutata."[2] "Nemo credat Dei Filium conversum et commutatum esse in hominis filium; sed potius credamus, et non consumpta divina et perfecte assumpta humana substantia, manentem Dei Filium, factum hominis filium."[3] The error condemned by St. Augustine in these and the like passages, as by the Creed, is imputed by him to the Apollinarians, who

[1] 'Sermo.' clxxxvi. cap. 1. [2] 'Enchiridion,' c. 34.
[3] 'Sermo.' clxxxvii. cap. 3; also 'De Trin.' i. 14.

asserted, "Verbi aliquid in carnem fuisse conversum atque mutatum."[1] But it appears to have been broached before the time of Apollinaris, for it is the subject of the eleventh Anathematism of the first Synod of Sirmium, held A.D. 351: "Si quis *Verbum caro factum est* audiens, Verbum in carnem translatum putet . . . anathema sit." Upon which St. Hilary makes the following comment, which may be considered advantageously conjointly with the above passages of St. Augustine in illustration of this verse of the Quicunque:—"Conservatur dignitas Divinitatis: ut in eo, quod Verbum caro factum est, dum Verbum, caro fit, non amiserit per carnem quod erat Verbum neque translatum in carnem sit, ut Verbum esse desineret; sed Verbum caro factum est, ut caro potius hoc inciperet esse, quod Verbum."[2] This error has shown great vitality; it was revived in Eutychianism;[3] and Bishop Pearson says it was maintained in his day by the Flandrian Anabaptists.

It may be noticed that, although almost all the early Commentaries quote the verse with the readings "in carne" and "in Deo," they all expound it in the sense of the received text. So Fortunatus, the Troyes, the Oratorian, the Bouhier, the Paris, and Bruno's.

[1] S. AUGUSTINI 'De Hæresibus Liber,' sect. lv. See also VINCENTII LIRINENSIS 'Commonitorium Primum,' sect. xii.

[2] S. HILARII 'Liber de Synodis,' sect. 48.

[3] 'Leo ad Leonem Augustum;' also 'Ad Palestinos.'

REMARKS ON SOME PASSAGES OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

SEVERAL verses and passages of the Quicunque have been made the subject of comment of late, with reference to its dogmatic value, its structure, and formation, and the date of its composition. It may not be out of place to examine at present some of these criticisms.

Verses 7–18. These verses were the subject of the late Bishop Thirlwall's criticism, in a speech made in Convocation in 1872; on which occasion, with the object of disparaging the dogmatic value of the Creed, that able prelate described them as "mere rhetorical amplification."[1] "I was struck," he said, "by the fact that the longest series of propositions contained in the Creed are in that respect" (*i.e.* with respect to dogmatical teaching) "a mere rhetorical amplification. They begin with the proposition, 'Such as the Father is, such is the Son, and such is the Holy Ghost. The Father uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate; . . . yet not three uncreated, but one uncreated, and one incomprehensible;' and so on. The plan, your lordships see, is to enumerate a

[1] *Guardian*, February 14, 1872.

variety of divine attributes, and then to make the assertion that the Father is such, the Son is such, and the Holy Ghost is such; and yet they are not three, but one. I know of no reason whatever in the nature of things why this should not have been prolonged to the extent of the whole Creed; because it seems to have been by pure accident that the author, whoever he was, confined himself to these particular illustrations. He might have gone through the whole range of the divine attributes: God is holy, God is wise, God is just, God is light, God is love. He might have gone through the whole of them, and left us in point of doctrine exactly where we were before; and if the whole of this were struck out of the Creed, it would, as far as I see, make absolutely no more difference, with regard to the amount of dogmatic loss that the Church would have sustained, than if it had never existed."

This criticism, coming from a prelate who deservedly enjoyed a great reputation as an able and accomplished scholar, has attracted much attention; and it has been endorsed and perpetuated by Dr. Lumby, in his work on the Creeds.[1] But in estimating its importance, it would be well to consider that Bishop Thirlwall's attainments in the department of theology were far from commensurate with his attainments in other branches of scholarship. And when submitted to examination, it presents a looseness of reasoning and a rashness of assertion, which induce the conviction that it could not have been the result

[1] Page 228.

of mature consideration or deep study. The bishop knew "*of no reason whatever in the nature of things*" why the author of the Creed should not have gone on to affirm of each divine Person that He is holy, just, wise, etc., in the same way as he has affirmed of each that He is uncreate, eternal, etc. And this "*because* it seemed pure accident that he confined himself to *these particular illustrations*." Even were these premisses correct, it would be difficult to see how the conclusion follows, that "if the whole of this were struck out of the Creed, it would make absolutely no more difference, with regard to the amount of dogmatic loss that the Church would have sustained, than if it had never existed." But the premisses are not correct; hence the whole fabric falls to the ground, and the position, to use the very moderate language of Bishop Wilberforce in his answer, is untenable. For the question is not concerning the nature of things, but the dogmatic teaching of the Creed, and its value. It would not have been of the same dogmatic import to affirm of each Person of the Trinity severally that He is holy, wise, just, light, love, as to affirm that He is uncreate, eternal, etc. And whether we take into account the nature of the case or the facts of history, it is obviously untrue that the author of the Creed chose, by pure accident, "these particular illustrations" which he chose. As regards the former, it is not easy to perceive how he could have set forth the doctrine of the holy and undivided Trinity more clearly and impressively than he has done in this series of

propositions, which affirm two great correlative axioms of Revelation—on the one hand, that the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are each partakers of the incommunicable attributes of divinity, each uncreate, eternal, incomprehensible or immense, Almighty, God, and Lord; and on the other that, notwithstanding, they are inseparably one in substance;—axioms which are not contrary to human reason, but above it, and which, however mysterious to us now, hereafter, when we shall no longer see through a glass darkly, but face to face, will doubtless be found to be perfectly harmonious and consistent. Then as regards the history of the matter, even with our imperfect knowledge, enough is known to satisfy us that these propositions, or rather assertions of the truth, were elicited, and indeed forced upon the Church, by the assaults of heresy. And they are safeguards necessary for all time, inasmuch as the errors which first evoked them are ever being reproduced, it may be in somewhat varying forms, but in substantial sameness, by the restless and malignant activity of the great deceiver. There is nothing pleonastic or trivial or accidental in them. There are no grounds for the imputations that they are mere rhetorical amplification, and that the Church would have been no loser had they never been framed.

It was an essential doctrine of Arianism, the most formidable form of error which threatened the very life of Christianity in the early ages, that the Son is a creature—though it may be incomparably the most excellent of created beings, and that the Holy Ghost,

being made by Him, is a creature also.[1] Hence the necessity of affirming that "the Father" is "uncreate, the Son uncreate, and the Holy Ghost uncreate." It appears that the Arians entertained materialistic notions respecting the Trinity, and consequently ascribed to each Person a local and limited presence, as though each occupied a separate portion of space. Hence the next affirmation that "the Father is incomprehensible"—*i.e.* in space, or immense, not confined by limits of place, present everywhere in His intrinsic perfection—"the Son incomprehensible, and the Holy Ghost incomprehensible." There is, unfortunately, an ambiguity in our word "incomprehensible;" but, after all, it is very doubtful whether "immensus" could have been more adequately rendered. "Immense" would be better than "infinite," which has been proposed.[2] Then it was an essential and distinctive, perhaps we should say it was the distinctive, doctrine of Arianism that the Son, and consequently the Spirit also, were not coeternal with the Father; that there was a time when the Son had no existence, and therefore when the

[1] See "Arius's First Profession of Faith;" HAHN, 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' p. 189. Breslau, 1877. Also St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Hæresibus Liber,' sect. xlix. Also 'Sermo Arianorum,' published in St. Augustine's works, vol. viii., Migne's edition. Also letters of Arius to Eusebius and to Alexander, and his 'Thalia;' also letters of Eusebius and Alexander all in NEWMAN'S 'Arians,' cap. ii. sect. 5.

[2] See St. AUGUSTINE, 'Liber de Præsentia Dei,' seu epis. clxxxvii. capp. iv., v., vi., the passage which has been largely borrowed by the Oratorian Commentary in its exposition of this verse. Also Ibid. epis. cxx. capp. ii., iii. Also FULGENTIUS, 'Con. Sermonem Fastidiosi,' cap. v.; and 'Ad Trasimundum,' lib. ii. capp. i., vii., viii., ix.

Spirit, being made by Him, had no existence either. Hence the necessity of affirming that "the Father" is "eternal, the Son eternal, and the Holy Ghost eternal;" hence also, it may be added, the anathema of the original Nicene Creed. It was another distinctive tenet of Arianism that the Father surpasses the Son in power as in dignity, and the Son, in like manner, the Spirit; so that the Son and the Spirit are not Almighty, as the Father. Hence the next affirmation that "the Father is Almighty, the Son Almighty, and the Holy Ghost Almighty."[1] Lastly, Arianism taught that the three Persons were three different substances, each in a sense divine, but possessing various grades of divinity—as it were, gold, silver, and brass; the Father the greater God and Lord, the Son the less, and the Spirit the less than the Son; the Father God and Lord to the Son, and the Son the same to the Spirit; the Son the subject and minister of the Father, and the Spirit in like manner of the Son.[2] Hence the concluding affirmations, that "the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Ghost is God," and that "the Father is Lord, the Son Lord, and the Holy Ghost Lord." And every one of these affirmations of the equality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in respect of the several divine attributes and perfections, is guarded by a corresponding affirmation of their essential unity in the same respects. Thus there is not one of these pro-

[1] See 'Sermo Arianorum,' ubi supra, sect. 24, 31. Also St. AUGUSTINE, 'Coll. cum Maximino,' sect. 12.

[2] See the above-mentioned 'Sermo Arianorum.'

positions, which have been represented as mere rhetorical amplifications, illustrations selected by pure accident, but was intended and adapted to rebut some specific error. Nor has the whole of the case been stated; for doubtless it was not against Arianism alone that these clauses were directed, but against Macedonianism as well, which was explicitly broached about A.D. 360, and, according to St. Augustine, denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost, representing Him to be a creature, though it taught the true doctrine concerning the Father and the Son.[1] One thing is very noticeable respecting them, that the teaching of the great Father just mentioned is clearly the type and model upon which they were framed. For of the six propositions, each containing a twofold affirmation, which they include, the three last are to be found almost word for word in his works;[2] and the others are there in substance. I cannot quit this point without adducing a passage from Fulgentius, which bears a remarkable resemblance to these clauses, and has never yet, I believe, been noticed in connection with them:—"Non est aliquod nomen quod sic Patri convenire possit aut Filio, ut Spiritui Sancto convenire non possit. Dicitur enim Pater naturaliter Deus: sed naturaliter est Deus et Filius, naturaliter est Deus et Spiritus Sanctus; nec tamen tres Dii, sed unus naturaliter Deus est Pater et Filius

[1] St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Hæresibus,' lii.

[2] See 'De Trin.' lib. v. cap. 8, sect. 9; also lib. viii. cap. 1. Also 'Con. Maximinum,' lib. ii. cap. xxiii. sect. 1, 2, 3. Also 'Collatio cum Maximino,' sect. 12. Also 'Ser.' vii. sect. 6.

et Spiritus Sanctus. Omnipotens est Pater, sed omnipotens est Filius, omnipotens est Spiritus Sanctus; nec tamen tres Dii omnipotentes, sed unus Deus omnipotens est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Æternus est sine initio Pater, æternus est sine initio Filius, æternus est sine initio Spiritus Sanctus; nec tamen tres Dii æterni, sed unus Deus æternus est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Immensus est Pater, sed immensus est Filius, immensus est et Spiritus Sanctus; nec tamen tres Dii immensi, sed unus Deus immensus est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus."[1] It will be observed that of the six propositions of the Creed, four are in fact here repeated by Fulgentius; and if the Creed is justly chargeable with rhetorical amplification, so is this Father. He was Bishop of Ruspe, in Africa, and flourished at the commencement of the sixth century, A.D. 533 being the year of his death.

Verse 22. "Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens." This verse has been recently adduced as bearing evidence of the late composition of the Quicunque. "'The Holy Ghost is of the Father and of the Son' could not have been put so boldly forward before the Council of Toledo, 589—possibly not much before the end of the eighth century, when the doctrine as to the double Procession had spread from Spain into France and Britain; for the verse seems in its present form to be an integral part of the Creed."[2] This argument

[1] FULGENTII 'Epistola,' xiv. sect. 6; MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. lxv.

[2] Article by Dr. SWAINSON on the Athanasian Creed, in 'Dictionary of Christian Biography,' p. 711. Edit. 1877.

appears to be based upon the notion that the doctrine of the Procession from the Father and the Son was entirely or well-nigh unknown before the Third Council of Toledo, held A.D. 589; that, in fact, it emanated from that Council, and was not generally known in the West till near the end of the eighth century. But history tells a very different tale. What happened at the Third Council of Toledo, which was a very important Council, the business transacted at it being nothing less than the solemn renunciation, on the part of the king, bishops, and chiefs of the Visigoths, of the Arian heresy, and their acceptance of the Catholic Faith? First, King Recared delivered an address, containing a profession of Faith in the Holy Trinity, in which occur the following words:—"Spiritus æquè Sanctus confitendus a nobis et prædicandus est a Patre et Filio procedere et cum Patre et Filio unius esse substantiæ." He concluded by anathematizing Arianism, and declaring his adhesion to the four Œcumenical Councils. Then the Nicene Creed, the Creed of Constantinople with the "Filioque," and the Definition of Chalcedon, are said to have been recited. Then the bishops, clergy, and chiefs of the Gothic nation declared their abjuration of Arianism, and submission to the Faith of the four Councils in the most formal and explicit manner, viz., in a series of Anathematisms, in number twenty-three. The third of these particularly calls for our attention; it is as follows:—"Quicunque Spiritum Sanctum non credit aut non crediderit a Patre et Filio procedere eumque non dixerit co-æternum esse Patri et Filio et co-essentialem,

anathema sit." The mere fact that the Fathers of this Council, on the solemn occasion of their acceptance of the Catholic Faith, should thus, in the most formal manner, express their belief in the double Procession by anathematizing the deniers of that doctrine, is of itself a strong presumptive evidence that at the time the doctrine was no novelty, but, in the West at least, generally known and received. The contrary hypothesis is most improbable. They at least appeared to have entertained not the slightest doubt of the catholicity of the doctrine, for they declared of the Faith, which they then embraced and subscribed, and which to their minds clearly comprehended among its dogmas the double Procession: "Haec est vera fides quam omnis ecclesia Dei per totum mundum tenet." And there is abundant and clear evidence that the doctrine was not first promulgated by this Council. St. Augustine had taught it long before, repeatedly and unequivocally and fully, and maintained it by arguments based upon Holy Scripture. After, from his time downwards, the witnesses to its general reception in the West are numerous and distinct, as may be seen by reference to Dr. Pusey's treatise on the subject,[1] and that also of Mr. Swete:—St. Fulgentius, who dwells in several passages and with great explicitness on the point, and Vigilius, both bishops in Africa, the latter at the end of the fifth century, the former at the commencement of the sixth; also Fernandus of Carthage, about the same epoch; in Italy—St. Leo the Great, in the middle of the fifth

[1] 'On the Clause "and the Son,"' pp. 51–61.

century; Agnellus, Bishop of Ravenna, later in the same century; Paschasius the Deacon, Boethius, and Pope Hormisdas, early in the next; in France—Eucherius of Lyons, early in the fifth century; Julianus Pomerius, late in the same; Avitus of Vienna, in the beginning of the next; and St. Gregory of Tours, in the latter part of it. I have purposely omitted from this list the profession of Faith adopted either at the First Council of Toledo, A.D. 400, or at the second, A.D. 444, and Gennadius's 'Liber de Dogmatibus,' because in both documents the reading is doubtful, some MSS. omitting the "Filioque." No doubt, this general, or rather universal, acceptance of the doctrine in the West was due in a degree to the teaching of St. Augustine, whose works were more widely disseminated and more carefully studied than those of any Father, and whose opinions commanded a peculiar, perhaps unequalled, respect and authority, —but it was not entirely due to this cause; and no doubt the doctrine was formulated by his acute and logical mind with a precision and definiteness and fulness which did not attach to it previously,—but it was known and taught before his time. It is to be found in the pages of St. Ambrose;[1] and of St. Hilary of Poictiers, who clearly teaches it in substance, though with a different terminology;[2] and even of so early a writer as Tertullian.[3] This, of course, is not the place for entering fully into the subject of the

[1] 'De Spiritu Sancto,' l. i. c. ii.
[2] 'De Trinitate,' lib. ii. sect. 4; also ii. sect. 29; and viii. sect. 20.
[3] 'Adv. Prax.' c. 8.

history of this doctrine. Enough has been said to show the untenable nature of the argument that the Athanasian Creed could not have been composed before the Third Council of Toledo, because it declares that "the Holy Ghost is of," or "from," (*i.e.* "*a*"), "the Father and the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding." This might have been very well the production of the early part of the fifth century. The doctrine is *not put forward more boldly* here than it is by St. Augustine, as a single quotation from his writings will suffice to show: "Nec possumus dicere quod Spiritus Sanctus et a Filio non procedat, neque enim frustra idem Spiritus et Patris et Filii esse dicitur. . . . Flatus ille corporeus[1] . . . fuit . . . demonstratio . . . non tantum a Patre, sed et a Filio procedere Spiritum Sanctum."[2] Quotations to a like effect might be easily multiplied. The immediate and principal occasion of this statement of the Quicunque was obviously the erroneous teaching of Arianism respecting the Holy Spirit, viz., that He was the creature of the Son, "factus per Filium," as the Son was of the Father. It was this, too, which elicited the mind of the Church by means of her Doctors, especially St. Augustine, in regard to the full doctrine of the Procession; and it was this which prompted the Gothic Bishops at the Council of Toledo, in their renunciation of Arianism, to insist upon that doctrine so urgently, by not only declaring their belief in it, but by anathematizing those who denied it.

[1] St. John xx. 22.

[2] St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. xv. cap. xlvi.

Arianism supplies the key to the history of the doctrine of the Procession. The preceding verse also of the Creed, asserting that the Son is "not made, nor created, but begotten," is clearly directed against that heresy; and at the same time, it maintains the *monarchia* of the Father—"the Son is of the Father alone"—thereby guarding against the imputation of two ἀρχαί or fountains of Deity.

Verse 31. "In sæculo natus." These words also appear in the Trèves fragment, which has been preserved in Paris, 3836; and on this fact Dr. Swainson founds an argument intended to show that the latter portion of the Creed—so much, namely, as relates to the Incarnation—was derived from that document. "Looking," he says, "through the Rules of Faith put forth at various councils and by various Church writers, they all follow the line of the Chalcedon Definition in speaking of the time of our Lord's incarnation. . . . In the fragment, however, we have 'in sæculo,' a phrase used by Vincentius of Lerins, but apparently driven out of use by the language adopted at Chalcedon, until it was rediscovered here. It is used, as we all know, in the Quicunque, 'in sæculo natus.' Thus I am driven to the conclusion that this fragment is of earlier date than the Council of Chalcedon."[1] And more recently, in his more elaborate work on the Creeds, he says: "The ordinary expressions used by the Councils of Toledo and the writers of the seventh and eighth centuries

[1] 'Plea for Time in dealing with the Athanasian Creed,' pp. 33, 34. Cambridge, 1873.

for the date of the birth of our Lord, were these: 'In novissimis temporibus,' 'in fine sæculi,' 'in ultimis temporibus,' and so on. The term 'in sæculo' appears to have been lost sight of until it was revived by the discovery of the fragment at Trèves; but it was the term used by Vincentius of Lerins, 'ex matre in sæculo generatus;' and we find it in St. Augustine's 'Enchiridion:' 'Deus est ante omnia sæcula, homo est in nostro sæculo.'"[1] Strange argument indeed! The premiss is that the expression "in sæculo," which is employed in the Trèves fragment in connection with the period of our Lord's nativity in the flesh, was similarly used by Vincent of Lerins, but was not so used or was "lost sight of" from the Council of Chalcedon until "the discovery of the fragment at Trèves." Thence are drawn two conclusions: that the Trèves "fragment is of earlier date than the Council of Chalcedon, *i.e.* earlier than A.D. 451;" and that the latter part of the Athanasian Creed was derived from that fragment. Do these conclusions follow? and is the premiss sound? Suppose both these to be the case, what then? It follows that the latter part of the Athanasian Creed was, or certainly might have been, drawn up before A.D. 451. Such is Dr. Lumby's inference, who, after endorsing Dr. Swainson's argument, adds, "We may conclude, therefore, that some part of the Creed was in existence before A.D. 450."[2] But this inference of Dr. Lumby's, correct as it is, is clearly at variance

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 433. London, 1875.
[2] 'History of the Creeds,' by J. R. LUMBY, pp. 216, 217.

with the exigencies of Dr. Swainson's theory, which maintains that the Creed was formed by a gradual process of growth, having its commencement in or about A.D. 750.[1] So that Dr. Swainson affirms it as his conclusion,[2] that the latter part of the Quicunque was formed out of the fragment, after what he describes as its discovery at Trèves, *i.e.* after it was found there and copied by the scribe of Paris, 3836—which is generally believed to have taken place in the first half of the eighth century. Thus this argument involves its author in apparent inconsistencies and difficulties. But it is necessary to examine it upon its own merits; for it is the only argument which has been advanced in support of the notion that the latter part of the Athanasian Creed was drawn from this Trèves fragment, which, indeed, is no wonder, seeing that the notion and the argument are both equally novel, and both have the same author. And the relation which this Trèves document bears to the Creed is a point of very considerable importance and interest. For if it is indeed the original form and groundwork of the latter part of the Quicunque, as Dr. Swainson and Dr. Lumby hold, it would follow that the Quicunque was once something very different from what it is now, from what even those scholars allow it to have been for a thousand years. On the other hand, if, as I have before contended,[3] and still

[1] 'Plea for Time,' etc., p. 46. Also article on the Athanasian Creed, in the 'Dictionary of Christian Biography.'

[2] 'Plea for Time,' etc., pp. 36, 37.

[3] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' p. 233.

contend with confirmed conviction of the truth of my position, the reverse was the fact, and the Trèves fragment was based upon the latter part of the Athanasian Creed, then the former document is of great importance as affording distinct evidence of the Creed's antiquity, but can be of no further significance.

Such, then, being the gravity of the points at issue, an examination of the question is called for. And first, in regard to the premisses of Dr. Swainson's argument for his hypothesis—that the latter part of the Athanasian Creed is drawn from the Trèves fragment—there is really no ground for his assertion that the expression "in sæculo," in connection with our Blessed Lord's incarnation, "was driven out of use by the language adopted at Chalcedon, until it was rediscovered here," *i.e.* at Trèves, or, as Dr. Lumby puts it more explicitly, that "in the Canons of that council and in authoritative documents of subsequent synods, this expression is changed into 'in novissimis diebus,' or some words of the like kind. . . . But before A.D. 451 it was *the expression regularly employed.*" The italics here are my own. So far from its being the fact that this expression was regularly employed before the Council of Chalcedon in professions of Faith, I think I am correct in saying it does not appear in a single ancient profession of Faith or Creed, whether before or after that Council, with the exception of the Quicunque, in the same connection as it has there, although it is very common for those documents to refer in a similar manner to the two nativities of our Blessed Lord, the one before

time and the other in time, and in analogous terms. I have searched through Hahn's 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' published so late as 1817, which gives, I believe, a complete collection of these documents down to the year 680, without finding a single other instance. I have counted twenty-one confessions of Faith prior to the Council of Chalcedon, containing some such note of time in reference to the Incarnation. Of these, four only are really Latin, or Western, confessions. The rest are Greek, with three exceptions, and those three are Latin translations of Eastern professions—one being a profession of Eutyches; the second of Ulphilas, the Gothic Arian Bishop; and the third the profession of the Eusebians at Philippopolis, A.D. 343, which is really identical word for word with a Greek profession, the fourth Antiochian formula. In almost all these Greek professions, the Incarnation is described as taking place "ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν ἡμερῶν" or the like; that of Athanasius has very notably "ἐπ' ἐσχάτων τῶν αἰώνων." The Council of Chalcedon made no change in this respect; in its Definition it adopted the very expression commonly found in earlier Greek professions, and succeeding General Councils did the same—the fifth in its second Anathematism, the sixth in its Definition; but, as before, so after, the Council, the usage was not uniform or unvarying—for instance, the formula of Cyrus of Alexandria, A.D. 633 has "ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τοῦ αἰῶνος καιροῖς." Doubtless the usual term was drawn from Holy Scripture;[1] still, it is remarkable, as the term

[1] Heb. i. 1.

used in the context in reference to the Son's nativity of the Father is almost always "πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων," or "πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων," corresponding to the "ante sæcula genitus" of the Quicunque; perhaps they avoided the use of αἰών in the singular, even with a qualifying pronoun to describe our "in the world" on account of the ambiguity of the word, particularly as it sometimes meant "eternity."[1] It is thus abundantly clear that the Council of Chalcedon introduced no change of terminology whatever as regards Greek professions of Faith. And the same holds true of Latin professions. The four Latin professions of Faith previous to the Council of Chalcedon, which contain some note of time in reference to the Incarnation, are: the Creed of Damasus, which has "ultimo tempore;" that of Bachiarius, with "in novissimis diebus;" that of Pelagius, with "in fine sæculorum;" the profession of Leporius, known as his 'Libellus Satisfactionis,' about A.D. 426, with "novissimo tempore." Not one of these, it will be observed, is a synodical profession. After the Council of Chalcedon, the Profession or Definition of the Fourth Council of Toledo, A.D. 633, has "ultimo tempore," that of the Council of Lateran, A.D. 649—an important Council—in its Anathematisms has twice "in ultimis sæculorum;" the profession of the Synod of Milan, A.D. 680, has "in ultimis diebus;" and that of the Roman Synod of the same year, "in ultimis sæculorum temporibus." These are all the instances. I am not aware that I have

[1] See SUICERS' 'Thesaurus on αἰών.' Also St. AUGUSTINE, 'Enarratio in Psalm' lxxxix. 3.

overlooked any. There is no uniformity of expression, it will be observed, either before or after the Council of Chalcedon. There is but one instance of the same expression being used, which appears in the Latin translation of the Chalcedon Definition, and that instance is found in an earlier profession—that of Bachiarius. Here, then, again it is as clear as daylight that no change of terminology was made by that Council. And this must hold equally true if the Athanasian Creed is set down as earlier than A.D. 451, as I believe it may be with good reason, though at the same time I admit it to be a fairly debatable point. For even if "in sæculo" had been regularly employed in preceding Latin professions, the Chalcedon "in novissimis diebus," being never afterwards adopted, could scarcely be said to have driven it out or supplanted it; certainly this cannot be said, when it was not so employed above once. Lastly, with regard to the use of the expression by Latin Doctors and writers, Dr. Swainson produces an instance of its use, before the Council of Chalcedon, from Vincent of Lerins. It may be as well to quote the whole passage: "Idem Patri æqualis et minor, idem ex Patre ante sæcula genitus, idem in sæculo ex matre generatus, perfectus Deus, perfectus homo."[1] I have found another instance subsequent to that Council—in Fulgentius, who was made Bishop of Ruspe, in Africa, A.D. 507, and died A.D. 533: "Unus est atque idem Deus, Dei Filius, natus ante sæcula et natus in sæculo."[2] Here again there is no room for the assertion that the

[1] 'Commonitorium Primum,' xiii.. [2] 'De Fide Liber,' sect. 11.

Definition of Chalcedon effected a change. There may be other instances, but these are all that have been produced. St. Augustine has something approaching to it: "Deus ante omnia sæcula, homo en nostro sæculo."[1] But he never appears to use the precise expression in this connection, although he had opportunities of doing so in dwelling, as he does several times, on the two nativities; and when he described the first as occurring "ante sæcula," which was the usual term, it might have been expected that his fondness for antithesis would have led him to employ the corresponding term respecting the second, viz., "in sæculo;" although, too, he was perfectly familiar with both terms, and explained them in the sense in which they are evidently used in the Athanasian Creed and Vincent of Lerins and Fulgentius: "Ipse," *i.e.* Deus, "ante sæcula; a sæculo autem ea dicimus, ex quo cœpit sæculum, sicut ipsum mundum; in sæculo autem, sicut ea quæ nascuntur in mundo;"[2] so that in his view the term would have been quite correct in this connection. But he seems to avoid it and to prefer others. Thus: "Qui erat ante omnia sæcula sine initio dierum Dei Filius, esse in novissimis diebus dignatus est hominis filius;"[3] and "Duas esse nativitates Domini; unam divinam, alteram humanam; unam sine tempore, alteram in tempore."[4] St. Ambrose has: "Ante sæcula ex Deo genitus posteriore tempore susceptionem carnis

[1] 'Enchiridion,' cap. xxxv.
[2] 'De Genasi ad Litteram,' lib. v. cap. xvii.
[3] 'Sermo.' cxci. cap. i.
[4] 'Sermo.' cxc. cap. ii.

assumpsit;"[1] and St. Gregory the Great: "Natus ex Patre sine tempore, ex matre nasci dignatus est in tempore;"[2] and Vigilius uses similar language.[3] Great variety of expression on the subject clearly prevailed in Latin writers as well as in Latin professions of Faith, and the use of the particular phrase in question was rare and exceptional. Possibly the word "sæculum," in this peculiar application, was avoided, like its Greek equivalent, and for the same reason—as being ambiguous, sometimes meaning "eternity."[4]

Further, rare as was the use of "in sæculo" in reference to the Incarnation at any time, still the phrase was known and used after, as well as before, the Council of Chalcedon; it was not extinct nor entirely lost sight of from that period to what Dr. Swainson describes as the discovery of the Trèves fragment. This appears from its use by Fulgentius, already mentioned, at the commencement of the sixth century. It appears also from the fact that it must have been known and used in the Athanasian Creed, which by many is believed to have been composed early in the fifth century, by some even earlier, and by few is denied to have been extant before the eighth century. It appears also from the occurrence of the phrase in the Trèves fragment. Dr. Swainson, indeed, assumes that that fragment, or rather the document of

[1] 'In Evan. Luc.' c. xxiii.

[2] 'Moralis Explanatio in Job,' lib. xxix.

[3] 'Con. Eutychetem,' lib. v. 7.

[4] St. Augustini 'Enarratio in Psalm. lxxxix.' sect. 3; also in Psalm, cxxx. sect. 15: "Non semper sæculi nomen hoc sæculum significat; sed aliquando æternitatem."

which it formed a part, had been for centuries unknown to the world, as much as though it had been buried in the earth, when all at once, in the eighth century, the scribe of the Paris MS. rediscovered it, and, by copying it, as it were republished it and restored it to light. But this is very improbable, and rests upon no solid proof. The scribe of Paris, 3836 (often called the Colbertine MS., because it belongs to the Colbert Collection) introduces the fragment with the words, "Haec invini" (for "inveni") "Treveris in uno libro scriptum sic incipiente Domini nostri Jhesu Christi et reliqua;" and this may imply that the document was new to him at the time; but it cannot prove that it was entirely unknown. Travelled man this scribe may have been, but he was a very illiterate and ignorant one, as the above specimen of his Latinity may show, and as I might show also, were it needful, by other similar examples from this very interesting manuscript. It is by no means clear what it was that he found at Trèves, and from which he took his copy; whether it was merely this fragment which he has given us, commencing "Domini nostri Jhesu Christi fideliter credat," or whether it was the whole document of which that fragment must have been originally a part. The latter hypothesis seems to me the most probable. On the one hand, his commencing in the middle of a sentence would lead us to suppose that the foregoing portion of the document was wanting: else why did he not copy the whole sentence? But on the other hand, he says distinctly that the fragment which he gives us was but a part of a

document or book, that it was "written in a book," and that book commenced with the words: "Domini nostri Jhesu Christi," and by adding "et reliqua," he seems to imply that what immediately followed was not the same as what he has preserved. Probably this "liber," or book, contained several documents, and the words "Domini nostri Jhesu Christi" may possibly have been the commencement of the first in order, and not of that of which this fragment was a portion; but such common words may well have occurred twice in the same document. Alcuin describes a "libellus," sent by him as a present to his friend Arno, as containing a variety of works or documents. May it be that the scribe commenced his copy at the above-mentioned words simply because they were the same which he had noticed at the commencement of the book or document? He was certainly not remarkable for the exercise of great critical care or judgment.[1] But whether what he copied from at Trèves was merely the fragment which he transcribed or the whole document of which it was a part, in either case there must have been such a document, and whatever was the date of its composition, it is most improbable that it was never extant except in the single original copy; several, perhaps many, copies must have been made and must have been extant in various places, and in all probability were so extant down to the eighth century

[1] The Trèves fragment is printed in Appendix, Note J. A facsimile of it, as it appears in the manuscript, is given in the first part of the publications of the Palæographical Society.

and later. To assume that a document was unknown to antiquity because it has been preserved in a single ancient manuscript only, whether wholly or partially, is to assume the opposite of what was the case in all probability. Persons do not take sufficiently into account the enormous destruction of manuscripts which has occurred from the ninth century downwards, and the very great ignorance which has in consequence devolved upon us of the real state of things in the preceding centuries.

I think now, that I have shown that so far from the expression, in the particular connection referred to by Dr. Swainson, being regularly employed, whether in professions of Faith or individual writers, before the Council of Chalcedon, there is but a single known instance of its use by the latter, and as to the former, the Athanasian Creed is the only ancient profession of Faith in which it is found. I have also shown that it was not unused or unknown between that Council and the eighth century. Thus Dr. Swainson's conclusion, adopted by Dr. Lumby, that the Trèves fragment, or rather the document of which it formed a part originally, is earlier than A.D. 451, is built upon a false foundation, and must fall; and with it must fall also their further conclusion, that the latter part of the Quicunque was drawn from that fragment, unless it can be proved upon other and better grounds.

RELATION OF THE TRÈVES FRAGMENT TO THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

IF there are any grounds for supposing that the Athanasian Creed, or rather the latter part of it, was drawn from the Trèves fragment, or the reverse, clearly they will be found in a comparison of the two documents. And such a comparison is called for, in order to arrive at some conclusion on a point which is of real importance in reference to the early history of the Creed. The result of it will be, in the first place, to show the untenable nature of the notion, commonly entertained, that the Trèves fragment is part of the Quicunque. For that the document to which this fragment originally belonged was not a Creed, or profession of Faith, at all, but a sermon or address, to catechumens, delivered after the "Traditio Symboli," such as we have several examples of in the works of St. Augustine, is evident from the words, "sicut vobis in symbolo traditum est," and "secundum fidem nostram," the former introduced after "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet," the latter just before "passus." There are also other differences between the two documents, which would be alone sufficient to preclude their being regarded as identical; for they

are more than mere varieties of reading. These will be noticed by-and-by. The second result will be to show that either the latter part of the Athanasian Creed must have been drawn from the fragment or the fragment from the latter part of the Athanasian Creed; for, notwithstanding the numerous discrepancies between the two documents, there is a large residuum of identity of language, which proves that such was the case, so that the question is narrowed to this alternative. And, thirdly, the comparison will, I think, establish conclusively that it is the fragment which is drawn from the Creed, or rather founded upon it, not the reverse. This may be demonstrated from one passage alone of the fragment, which I subjoin, placing by its side, in order to make out my case, corresponding passages from St. Augustine and the Quicunque.

"Ut, quemadmodum homo est anima et caro, sic esset Christus Deus et homo. Idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo; non confusione naturæ, sed unitate personæ." [1]

"Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et homo." [2]

"Unus omnino non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Qui passus est," etc. [3]

"Unus Christus est non confusione substantiæ, sed unitatem personæ qui . . . passus," etc. [4]

The reading "unitatem," in the Trèves fragment, is clearly of no significance, and requires no further notice. In all probability, the original document had

[1] S. AUGUSTINI 'Sermo.' clxxxvi. cap. 1.

[2] Ibid. 'Tract in Johannis Evan.' lxxviii. sect. 3.

[3] Athanasian Creed, verses 34, 35, 36.

[4] Trèves fragment in the Paris MS. Latin, 3836.

"unitate," and this corruption is due to the barbarism of the age or to the ignorance or carelessness of the copyist. I would draw attention to the fact that the above passage of the Quicunque *could not* have been drawn from the fragment, for the obvious reason that it contains some very important matter which is not to be found there. Its source may clearly be traced in the two passages of St. Augustine; "unus omnino" are but a condensed form for the words "idem Deus qui homo, et qui Deus idem homo," and are explained by them; the remainder of verses 34 and 35 is in the very language of that Father; only some transposition has taken place, and "naturæ" has been changed into "substantiæ." It is also clear that the above passage of the fragment has been drawn, not from St. Augustine, but the Creed; for it has the "substantiæ" of the latter, not the "naturæ" of the former; and this receives confirmation from another circumstance, viz., that the passage of the fragment, from "unus" to "personæ," is composed from the two verses 34 and 35 of the Creed. Had the latter verse, "nam sicut," etc., been omitted altogether, the reference of the relative "qui," which follows immediately, would have been obscured. The author, therefore, of the discourse, or sermon, of which the Trèves fragment is the conclusion, retained "Christus est," and substituted them for "omnino" in the preceding verse. But why did he omit the illustration of the unity of Christ's Person, thus apparently borrowed by the Creed from St. Augustine, viz., "as the reasonable soul," etc.? The omission could not have been

accidental. Waterland argues from it that the "manuscript was written while the Eutychian controversy was at its height—about the end of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth"[1]—upon the ground that this illustration, or similitude, owing to the Monophysites wresting it to their own sense, was avoided by the Catholics after the rise of Eutychianism, though previously they had made frequent use of it in confuting the Apollinarians. This argument was suggested to him by the converse argument of Le Quien, which he adopts, and which was that, upon the same ground, the use of the illustration by the Creed was a proof of its existence before the heresy of Eutyches attracted attention. Clearly, however, in thus speaking of the manuscript at Trèves, from which the fragment was copied, Waterland is somewhat inaccurate, if I may say so without presumption. His argument rather applies, and perhaps was meant by him to apply, to the document to which the Trèves fragment originally belonged, and the time of its composition. Thus, as we are led to believe the Athanasian Creed to be earlier than the Council of Chalcedon by its use of the illustration referred to, so we are induced to assign to the Trèves sermon, or address, a date subsequent to that Council, by the marked omission of the same illustration. And if the latter is the later in date, it must have been drawn from the former. We have before seen how the attempt to prove an earlier date for the Trèves document breaks down.

[1] 'Critical History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 72. Oxford edition, 1870.

And, turning to the other variations between these documents, we shall find nothing inconsistent with the conclusion thus arrived at—viz., that the Trèves fragment was based upon the Quicunque, not the reverse—and much to confirm it. The expression "resurgere habent" is very remarkable in the 38th verse of the Creed. The whole passage is: "Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis;" for this the Trèves document has: "Ad cujus adventum erunt omnes homines sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi." Which is most probable — that the more common and better-known expression should have been substituted for the more rare and peculiar one, "erunt resurrecturi" for "resurgere habent;" or the reverse? That the former is the most probable there can be no doubt, especially considering the nature of the Trèves document, that it was an instruction to catechumens previous to baptism. Then, apparently because the preacher felt that his own term was not quite so forcible as that of the Creed, he added "sine dubio." Ducange explains "habere," used thus, by "velle vel debere." "*Erunt* resurrecturi," for "resurrecturi sunt," of course must be regarded as a barbarism of the age. The peculiar construction which we have in "resurgere habent," is not of late origin, for it is found in early Latin Fathers. Dr. Swainson once maintained that it savoured "of the eighth or ninth century."[1] But he appears to have found reason since then to change his opinion; for

[1] 'Plea for Time,' etc., p. 35. Cambridge, 1873.

in his last book[1] he has a long note on the subject, in which, after quoting several mediæval examples from Ducange, he says: "Roensch, 'Itala und Vulgata,' p. 447, gives additional instances of this use in the translation of Irenæus, in Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Lactantius. Thus *qui pro salute nostra pati habuit.*" I have not the opportunity of referring to this book of Roensch; but I have myself met with no fewer than five instances of the construction in St. Augustine, one too, as the Creed, referring to the Resurrection, though I cannot boast of a deep or extensive acquaintance with the works of that Father. They are as follows:—"Mori veni pro hominibus? baptizari non habeo pro hominibus?"[2] "Isti mali præscindi habent in fine."[3] "Modo . . . dicit illud de ore suo . . . episcopus et irridetur. Numquid sic irrideri habet, quando ab ipso judice potentissimo dicetur?"[4] "Respondere tibi habet caro tua, et confabulatura tecum, dictura tibi in tenebris; Quando natus is fuit?"[5] And more apposite than any: "Ista caro resurget ista ipsa, quæ sepelitur, quæ moritur, . . . ipsa habet resurgere."[6] No doubt that many other instances might be found in the same writer. I am also able to produce one from Tertullian: "Habes et regionem inferam subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putent animas fidelium inferis dignas."[7] The use

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 266.
[2] St. AUGUSTINI 'Tract in Johan.' iv. 14.
[3] Ibid. 'Ser.' v. 8.
[4] Ibid. 'Ser.' xviii. 5.
[5] Ibid. 'Ser.' cxliv. 4.
[6] Ibid. 'Ser.' cclxiv. 6.
[7] 'De Anim.' c. 55.

then, of this construction furnishes not the slightest ground for supposing that the Quicunque was the product of a comparatively late age, say, the eighth or ninth century. But it may be reasonably adduced as additional evidence of the thoroughly Augustinian character of that symbol, even as regards its phraseology. For the citations given above leave no room for doubting that the mode of expression was perfectly familiar, and indeed natural, to St. Augustine.

Next, the Creed has: "Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum." The Trèves fragment: "Unus autem non ex eo quod sit in carne conversa divinitas, sed quia est in Deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas." The natural conclusion, on comparing these two passages, is that the author of the latter had the former before him, if not actually, at least mentally; but that, instead of the terse and rhythmical style of the Creed, he adopted a more paraphrastic and explicit mode of expression, as better suited to the nature of his address. This is far more likely than that the opposite process should have taken place. Moreover, had the former been drawn from the latter, the word "dignanter" would have been, we might expect, in some way reproduced; but it is not. And this view holds good equally, whether the original text of the Quicunque had "carnem" and "Deum," or "carne" and "Deo."

Next, the Creed has: "Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos." The Trèves fragment: "Qui secundum fidem nostram passus et nortuos ad

inferna discendens." Of course, "mortuos" and "discendens" must be set down as mere barbarisms for "mortuus" and "descendens." It is very remarkable that the Quicunque omits all mention of the crucifixion and death of our Blessed Lord—an indication that it was not drawn from the Trèves document, which particularly notices the death. But the point which especially demands consideration here, is the difference of the terminology of the two documents with reference to the descent into hell. Upon the hypothesis that the Quicunque was the groundwork of the Trèves discourse, the change of "ad inferos" to "ad inferna" may be probably accounted for; as the author of that discourse would necessarily prefer using the latter term, if the catechumens whom he was addressing had heard it, and become acquainted with it in the Apostles' Creed, which had been just before delivered to them—the "Traditio Symboli" being the occasion of the discourse. And this would appear to have been the case from the words "secundum fidem nostram," here introduced. Moreover, the discourse, or sermon, was in all probability composed and preached at some place in Gaul, and in the sixth century, certainly not later than the seventh; and the article, expressed in the form, which the Trèves document must have followed, "descendit *ad inferna*," appears in three different types of the Apostles' Creed which have been preserved in an ancient Gallican Sacramentary, first edited by Mabillon in his 'Museum Italicum,' from a manuscript of the seventh century, written in uncials, and found in the Monastery of

Bobbio, in Italy. The first of these was actually used in the ceremony of the "Traditio Symboli," being the Creed which the catechumens were required to learn; the second is cast into the form of interrogations, and was used at baptism; the third, which is added, as in an appendix, at the end of the Sacramentary, differs in several respects from the other two, but in this especially, that it describes each of the articles as dictated by an Apostle.[1] The manuscript being of the seventh century, the two first Creeds at least may fairly be assigned to the sixth. The same article was also in the Creed, which was the subject of the discourse "de Symboli Fide et bonis operibus," which is printed in the appendix to St. Augustine's works, and is attributed by the Benedictine editors to Cæsarius of Arles, and reproduces some of the phraseology of the Athanasian Creed.[2] It is also quoted, as belonging to the Creed, in a Commentary attributed to St. Athanasius, and edited by Blanchini, from a manuscript of the seventh century, belonging to the Chapter of Verona.[3] It appears, too, in the Creed, as expounded by Venantius Fortunatus, an Italian by birth, who became Bishop of Poictiers, in France, late in the sixth century; but there it is given in a slightly different form, "descendit ad infernum." It seems to have been used in Spain in the first half of the sixth century;[4] and as we know from Ruffinus,

[1] HEURTLEY'S 'Harmonia Symbolica,' pp. 64–69. HAHN, 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' pp. 37–39. The Sacramentary was also published by MURATORI, in his 'Liturgia Romana Vetus.'

[2] St. AUGUSTINI "Opera," tom. v. Appendix Ser. ccxlv.

[3] HAHN, pp. 42, 43. HEURTLEY, pp. 56, 57. [4] HAHN, p. 35.

was part of the Creed of Aquileia in the latter portion of the fourth century. It is interesting to find it in the Creed, which is the subject of comment by Analarius, Archbishop of Trèves, in his epistle to Charles the Great, "De Cæremoniis Baptismi."[1] It was, therefore, recited in the Baptismal Creed at Trèves, at the beginning of the ninth century; and may have been used there much earlier, but of course this cannot be proved. The Creed, however, of Analarius, presents several peculiarities, which are indicative of a higher antiquity. Thus, there is every reason to believe that "the descent into hell" was an article of the Creed, in Gaul at least, as early as the sixth and seventh centuries; and the author of the sermon of which the Trèves fragment is a part, would naturally adopt the "ad inferna" of the Creed, which had been just taught to the catechumens whom he was addressing, in place of the "ad inferos" of the Athanasian Creed. On the other hand, had the Athanasian Creed been drawn from that fragment, as Dr. Swainson maintains, it is exceedingly improbable that what was at the time the usual language of the Apostles' Creed would have been abandoned for an expression so rarely occurring in professions of Faith. For, besides the Quicunque, there are but two ancient professions of Faith in which "descendit ad inferos" is known to occur. One is an Irish profession of Faith, contained in an ancient Antiphonary, which Muratori has edited in his 'Anecdota Ambrosiana,' from a manuscript of the seventh century. The codex

[1] HAHN, p. 40.

originally belonged to the Monastery of Bangor, in Ireland, and from thence found its way to that of Bobbio, in Italy, and finally was transferred to the Ambrosian Library at Milan.[1] This profession has an evident affinity to the Apostles' Creed, but is remarkable for great peculiarities. The other profession in which this form occurs, is that of the Sixth Council of Toledo, in the year 633. The earliest instance of its appearance in the Apostles' Creed is, I believe, in a MS. of the ninth century, No. 427, in the Lambeth Library. This manuscript is a Psalter followed by the usual Canticles, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, to which an Anglo-Saxon version is added. But the use of the word "inferi," notwithstanding its rarity in ancient Creeds, is no disproof whatever of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed. For there are abundant instances of its employment in the same sense as in the Creed by Tertullian, St. Hilary, and St. Augustine, to mention no other early writers. The last, indeed, seems to employ it convertibly with "infernum."[2]

[1] HAHN, 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' pp. 40, 41.

[2] For instance: "Et Dominum quidem carne mortificatum venisse in infernum, satis constat. Neque enim contradici potest vel prophetiæ quæ dixit, *Quoniam non derelinques animam meam in inferno*; quod ne aliter quisquam sapere auderet, in Actibus Apostolorum idem Petrus exponit: vel ejusdem Petri illis verbis, quibus eum asserit *solvisse inferni dolores, in quibus impossibile erat eum teneri.* Quis ergo nisi infidelis negaverit fuisse apud inferos Christum?"—S. AUGUSTINI 'Epist.' clxiv. cap. ii. Also "Cujus misericordia eum præveniet, ut etiam ante resurrectionem Dei filius intelligatur, cum moriente eo, obscurato sole lux deperit, cum pendente eo in cruce tremit terra, cum descendente eo ad inferos, sanctos ejus inferi non tenent,"

The term, therefore, may have been taken from St. Augustine; and, considering how largely the Creed has borrowed his phraseology, this probably was the case. It is very noticeable that all the manuscripts of the earliest Commentary on the Quicunque—that attributed to Fortunatus—with the exception of the Milan Codex, which presents the Commentary in a later form than the rest, read "Descendit ad inferna," and the Oratorian Commentary has the same; but all the manuscripts of the Creed, without exception, appear to give "Descendit ad inferos." The latter, therefore, must be regarded as the original, true reading.

The next passages to be compared are "sedet ad dexteram Patris" of the Athanasian Creed, and "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet" of the Trèves document. The latter is immediately followed by the words "sicut vobis in simbulo tradutum est;" so that here we find the homilist, or preacher, expressly stating that he adopted the language of the Apostles' Creed, as in the previous instance it has been suggested that he did. But it is remarkable that the words "ad dexteram Dei Patris" occur very rarely in any early surviving varieties of the Apostles' Creed. Professor

etc.—S. HILARII 'Tract in Psalmum,' lviii. sect. 10. And "Quod si Christus Deus, quia et homo mortuus secundum Scripturas, et sepultus secundum easdem, huic quoque legi satisfecit, forma humanæ mortis apud inferos functus, nec ante ascendit in sublimiora cælorum quam descendit in inferiora terrarum, ut illic Patriarchas et Prophetas compotes sui faceret; habes et regionem inferum subterraneam credere, et illos cubito pellere, qui satis superbe non putant animas fidelium inferis dignas."—TERTULLIAN, 'De Anim.' c. 55.

Heurtley mentions two instances only in point, and they are found in expositions of the Creed published among the works of St. Augustine, one being relegated to the appendix, and the other of very doubtful genuineness; and in both instances the Creed is of a type peculiar to Africa.[1] But perhaps this is a point which cannot be pressed closely. The accuracy of the writer of this Colbert MS. is evidently not very reliable; and he may have omitted the word "omnipotentis," as he has transposed "sedet," which always in the Creed appears before "ad dexteram." However this be, "sedet ad dexteram Patris," which was probably the original reading of the Athanasian Creed, for it is found in the oldest MS., viz., the Milan, and in all the early Commentaries—Fortunatus's, the Troyes, the Oratorian, the Bouhier, the Paris,—and which is also the earliest form of the article in the Apostles' Creed, is undoubtedly of greater antiquity than "sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris," or "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet," as the Trèves fragment has it, or than "sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis," which appears in the Apostles' Creed, as used in Gaul and Spain as early as the sixth century.[2] It will be seen by reference to Appendix I, that the last form was the reading of the Athanasian Creed also at the end of the eighth century, as it has been since, having been probably introduced from the Apostles' Creed, in which it had

[1] HEURTLEY's 'Harmonia Symbolica,' pp. 42, 45, 138. Also HAHN, 'Bibliothek der Symbole,' pp. 30, 31.

[2] HEURTLEY, p. 60. HAHN, pp. 35–39.

obtained, as we see, before. But whatever may have been the period of its insertion in the Quicunque, it could never have been drawn from the "ad dexteram Dei Patris sedet" of the Trèves fragment.

Then for "inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos" in the Athanasian Creed, we have in the Trèves fragment, "inde ad judicandos vivos et mortuos credimus et speramus cum esse venturum." Upon the hypothesis that the latter document had the former for its groundwork, this was a very natural amplification to make in a discourse on the Faith addressed to catechumens. There is probably, too, an allusion to the Apostles' Creed in the words "credimus et speramus." That the reverse process took place, *i.e.* that the former passage was drawn from the latter, there is no reason for supposing. In this article the Athanasian and the Apostles' Creeds coincide to the letter.

There remains but one diversity which calls for consideration, but that is the most important of all. The final verse of the Athanasian Creed is "Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit." The conclusion of the fragment is as follows:—"Haec est fides sancta et catholica, quam omnes (*sic*) homo qui ad vitam aeternam pervenire desiderat scire integrae debet et fideliter custodire." Here, again, the change may easily be accounted for, considering the nature of the document of which this fragment was the termination. A person instructing catechumens in preparation for holy baptism, would deem it suitable

to his purpose to warn them of the necessity and duty, as they would attain to everlasting life, first, of acquiring a thorough knowledge (scire integre) of the Catholic Faith, and then of faithfully guarding it or holding it fast to the end. What is specially noticeable in this conclusion of the Trèves document, is its admonition of the duty of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the Faith, respecting which the Quicunque, as a hymn of Faith for believers, is necessarily silent. Another point worthy of notice is that it is framed upon the model of the commencing, not the final, verse of the Quicunque, though it adopts some of the phraseology of the latter; it is positive, not negative. "Omnis homo qui ad vitam aeternam pervenire desiderat" is the counterpart of "Quicunque vult salvus esse;" and the "custodire" of the fragment may have been suggested by the "conservet" of the 2nd verse of the Creed. So that the author appears to have had before him the commencement, as well as the conclusion, of the Athanasian Creed, and to have borrowed some characteristics from both in composing his own conclusion. Clearly there is no doctrinal difference between the two documents here. The positive implies the corresponding negative. The author of the discourse chose the positive form of inculcating upon his hearers their duty, deeming it more suitable to their position; but the man who taught that "every one who desires to attain everlasting life, ought to know thoroughly and to guard faithfully" the Catholic Faith, would not have objected to teach, whenever it

might be needful, "that except a man believe" that Faith "faithfully and firmly, he cannot be saved." In this case, it may be safely asserted, as in the last, that there is not the slightest evidence of the Athanasian Creed being drawn from the Trèves fragment.

There are other differences between the two documents of minor importance; but these are all which call for consideration. The comparison of them unavoidably leads to the conclusion that it was the Trèves fragment which was drawn from the Athanasian Creed, not the reverse. The fragment is evidently the end of a sermon, or discourse, delivered after the "Traditio Symboli" to the competentes, or candidates for holy baptism, in which the preacher takes the latter part of the Creed for the basis of his instruction respecting the Incarnation, reproducing much of it word for word, but in other places omitting, inserting, amplifying, and altering as he found suitable to the purpose and the occasion of his address. This being the true relation of these documents, there follow several momentous consequences. In the first place, Dr. Swainson's hypothesis, that this fragment was the groundwork, or stock, out of which the latter portion of the Creed was constructed, is utterly untenable and erroneous. Secondly, an additional proof of the antiquity of the Creed is supplied; for the discourse being founded upon the Creed, the latter must needs be the older work of the two—older, *i.e.*, not merely than the manuscript containing the fragment, but—what is very different—than the discourse of which the fragment is but a portion. And thirdly, the

notion that this fragment gives us, so far as it goes, the true and original text of the Creed, must be discarded. It was under this notion that, a few years ago, some of our bishops deliberately proposed, on critical and historical grounds, to substitute the closing sentence of the fragment for the final verse of the Creed; at the same time, most inconsistently, they did not propose to follow the fragment in other important particulars, in which it differs from the Creed, thus betraying the weakness of their position.[1] To dwell more largely on these points would be to repeat what I have before said.[2] A sense of their practical importance has induced me to make this attempt to supply—what seemed to me a desideratum —specific proof of the premiss on which they rest.

Some account of the "Traditio Symboli," to which such frequent allusion has been made in connection with the Trèves fragment, may be here desirable. It "was," in the words of Dr. Heurtley,[3] "the solemn delivery of the Creed to the catechumens, to be learnt by them before their baptism. When learnt, they were required to recite it, and their recital of it was the 'Redditio Symboli.' For both the one and the other, stated days, though varying in different Churches, were appointed." In Gaul, the "Traditio Symboli" took place on Palm Sunday. The 13th Canon of the Council of Agde, held A.D. 506, orders it to be so;

[1] Report of the Committee of Bishops on the revision of the text and translation of the Athanasian Creed. 1872.

[2] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 228–231.

[3] 'Harmonia Symbolica,' p. 65, note.

and in the "Vetus Gallicanum Missale," published by Muratori, there is a mass to be celebrated on Palm Sunday, on occasion of this solemn ceremony.[1] In Spain, it was observed on the same day, as we learn from Isidore of Seville.[2] But there was no uniformity of custom in the matter. According to the 'Ordo Romanus,' the "Traditio Symboli" was to be solemnized on the Wednesday of the fourth week in Lent, the "Redditio" on Holy Saturday. And Analarius Fortunatus gives the same account. In Africa, in the time of St. Augustine, the former took place about a fortnight before Easter, the latter on the eighth day after the former. After the "Redditio Symboli," the "Traditio Dominicæ Orationis" followed immediately, and the "redditio" of the Lord's Prayer came a week later.[3]

[1] MURATORI, 'Liturgia Romana Vetus,' tom. ii. p. 718.
[2] Lib. i. 'De Officiis Ecclesiasticis,' cap. 27.
[3] Benedictine editors' note on Sermo. ccxii. of St. Augustine.

CONCLUSION.

IT remains to summarize the results arrived at in the preceding pages. These may be considered in reference to: I., the antiquity of the Creed of St. Athanasius; II., its authorship; III., its use and reception; IV., the theory of growth.

I. The antiquity of the Creed is proved by four classes of ancient documents, noticed by us: (*a.*) manuscript copies of it; (*b.*) Commentaries upon it; (*c.*) ecclesiastical Canons relating to it; and (*d.*) discourses, or sermons, incorporating or adapting its phraseology.

(*a.*) In regard to manuscript copies of the Creed, it will clearly suffice here to adduce, in proof of its antiquity, a few only of those which have been mentioned, those few necessarily being among the oldest. Vat. Pal. 574, referred by Holstenius to a very high antiquity, by Reifferscheid to the ninth century, would be alone sufficient to establish the existence of the Quicunque prior to that century. It contains a Gallican Collection of Canons, drawn up, in the judgment of the Ballerini, before the middle of the sixth century, the latest Council included in it being the fourth of Orleans, which was held A.D. 541.

Other documents are added; and as none of them is later than A.D. 756, the same authorities believe them to have been added in the eighth century. Among these *additamenta* is the Athanasian Creed, entitled, "Fides catholica beati Athanasii episcopi." Paris, 3848 B, is assigned by Maassen to the commencement of the ninth century; and that it was not executed later is shown by the fact that Paris, 2123, a MS. of the same century, was in part copied from it—a fact which must be apparent to any person who compares the two MSS. carefully, and of which I have produced some proof. Like the Vatican manuscript, just noticed, it contains a Gallican Collection of Canons, but not the same—the Herovall Collection. It furnishes indisputable evidence of the existence of the Athanasian Creed prior, and indeed considerably prior, to the ninth century. The Creed is introduced under the head of Testimonies concerning the Faith, which, together with other important documents, come before the collection of Canons, and consist of passages from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Chrysostom, Theophilus, St. Cyril of Alexandria, St. Isidore, and last, "Fides sancti Gregorii papae urbis." The Quicunque occurs immediately before the Creed of Gregory, and is entitled, "Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi." The compiler of these testimonies to the Faith, who must have lived in the beginning of the ninth century at the latest, evidently regarded the Quicunque as an ancient document, and the work of Athanasius; otherwise he would not have placed it in this category together with passages from ancient

and celebrated Fathers. Its occurrence in this MS. is especially noticeable, as the Herovall Collection has, among its contents, the Autun Canon enjoining its recitation. Paris, 1451, which also contains a Gallican Collection, is determined, as regards its date, by the chronological notes at its commencement, to the early part of the Pontificate of Leo III., preceding the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor, which took place on Christmas Day, A.D. 800. Leo's Pontificate commenced at the end of A.D. 795. The Athanasian Creed is the first in order of the documents in this manuscript, immediately succeeding the chronological notes, and has for its title, "Exemplar fidei chatolicae Atanasii episcopi Alexandriae ecclesie." It will be observed that in these three MSS. the Quicunque is expressly attributed to St. Athanasius; and thus they witness to the fact, of which, indeed, there exist, independently of them, abundant proofs, that at and about the commencement of the ninth century it was held to be the work of that great defender of the Faith. And this fact, while on the one hand it is no proof that the Quicunque was really penned by him, on the other is a clear and irresistible proof that at that epoch it was not a new or unknown document, but one of considerable antiquity and of established repute. Manifestly these MSS. present an insuperable difficulty in the way of the acceptance of Dr. Swainson's theory, according to which our Creed did not assume its present complete form until nearly A.D. 870; for in each of them it appears whole and entire, as we now have it, barring a few varieties

of reading. Indeed, he acknowledges the difficulty, but does not abandon his theory; and, unable to disprove the early date assigned to the manuscripts, he takes comfort in the hope "that the labours of the Palæographical Society will give its members materials to form their judgment on a surer basis."[1] A plainer confession of the weakness of his case there could not be. As a member of that society, I have not yet discovered that its labours are likely to help him in his difficulty.

The very interesting Psalter contained in Paris, 13,159, is also proved, by evidence of the most clear and reliable nature, to have been written between the accession of Leo III. to the Papacy and the coronation of Charlemagne as emperor; for the Litanies at the end include petitions for Pope Leo and for Charles, King of the Franks and Lombards and Patrician of the Romans. The authorities of the MS. department at Paris, moreover, assign it to that epoch. The Athanasian Creed is found in the usual place after the Canticles. Dr. Swainson's perplexity respecting this manuscript, which is obviously fatal to his theory, has been already alluded to. There are really no grounds for his suggestion that the Litanies are not contemporaneous with the preceding part of the book. But if they were not so, the preceding part, including the Quicunque, must be set down to an earlier date.

These four manuscripts were unknown to Waterland; their testimony, therefore, to the antiquity of

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 449.

the Creed is new, as well as important. My knowledge of the Paris MSS. is derived from my own examination of them on three different occasions. Reifferscheid and the Ballerini are my authorities in respect of the Vatican Codex.

Paris, 4858, belonging to the close of the eighth century, is another proof of the existence of the Athanasian Creed prior to the succeeding century. It contains a fragment only of the Creed—some of the commencing verses; but this is owing evidently to the mutilation to which the MS. has been subjected. Much of the volume must have been destroyed, including the remainder of the Quicunque.

The futile attempts of Dr. Lumby and Dr. Swainson to prove the MS. in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, marked O 212, to be later than the eighth century, have been noticed. The belief that it is not later rests, it will be remembered, on the high palæographic authorities of Montfaucon, Muratori, and the present librarian, Dr. Ceriani.

I have passed over in silence on the present occasion the Vienna Psalter, which is recorded to have been presented by Charlemagne to the Church of Bremen, and has been assigned by competent palæographers to the latter part of the eighth century, because I have nothing to add to what I have previously said upon the subject.[1]

The earliest MS. of the Creed in existence, or known to be so (for who can say that an earlier may

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 202–226.

not be in existence, as yet undiscovered ?), appears to be that at Milan, which Montfaucon, with whom the present librarian seemingly agrees, assigned to the eighth century, and Muratori to the seventh. But it does not follow, be it remembered, from the fact of no MS. of the Creed being known to which an earlier date than the eighth or seventh century can be appropriated, that therefore the Creed itself was not composed before, and much before, that date. If I may be permitted to repeat what I have before said, we do not conclude, from the fact of our possessing no manuscripts of the Holy Scriptures earlier than the fourth century, that the Scriptures were not written till then; nor from the fact of our possessing no copy of Virgil earlier than the same or the preceding century, that the poems of Virgil were a work of that age. We are not, then, driven to the conclusion that the Quicunque was a production of the eighth or the seventh century, in order to account for the non-existence of any earlier MS. containing it. The phenomenon may be sufficiently accounted for by the vast loss and destruction of ancient MSS., which unquestionably have resulted, in the course of the last thousand years, from a variety of causes, including the ravages of war and fire, carelessness, ignorance, cupidity, damp. Thousands of copies of the Athanasian Creed, earlier than the eighth century, may have perished, and, I believe, have perished. The wonder is that we possess so many as we do belonging to that and the succeeding century.

In these remarks, no mention has been made of the

Utrecht Psalter, the date of which has been recently the subject of much controversy among palæographers, some maintaining that it was written as early as the sixth century, but others, and indeed the majority, denying that it could be earlier than the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth. Could the former opinion be relied upon with any degree of certainty, this MS. would alone serve to establish the great antiquity of the Quicunque, which it contains. But the wide diversity of opinion respecting its age existing among persons best qualified to form a judgment upon the subject, forbids my appealing to it for the purpose of my argument. The MSS. which I have noticed are sufficient to prove that the Athanasian Creed, so far from being the production of the ninth century, was composed long before that period.

(*b.*) Next let us consider the evidence of the most ancient Commentaries upon the Athanasian Creed. Of these four appear in the Appendix; and three out of the four are, to the best of my knowledge, now printed for the first time. These four Commentaries were entirely unknown to Waterland; and I desire to draw attention to them, in their obvious bearing upon our subject, as illustrating the early history of the Quicunque, and supplying new and additional proof of its antiquity.

The Paris Commentary has been shown to have been drawn up not later than the ninth century, and not earlier than the seventh; the Bouhier in the eighth; the Oratorian at the beginning of the eighth

or quite the end of the seventh; and the Troyes between A.D. 649 and A.D. 680. And on a former occasion[1] I have produced reasons for believing the Commentary commonly attributed to Venantius Fortunatus to have been composed before the rise of the Monothelete controversy, *i.e.* before A.D. 630—those reasons being wholly independent of the question of its authorship, which appears to me to be too doubtful a point to be made the ground for determining its date. Thus we have a series of Commentaries reaching from the commencement of the seventh century to the ninth; and the paucity of ancient expositions of the Quicunque can no longer be urged in proof that it was little known or used in the early Middle Ages.

Moreover, as the entire Creed is quoted verse by verse in the Bouhier and Oratorian Commentaries, distinct and positive evidence is thus afforded, of its existence in its entirety at the commencement of the eighth century, to put the date of the latter work no earlier. But this is not all. The author of the Oratorian Commentary asserts, in his preface, that he had seen old manuscripts in which the Creed was invariably entitled as the work of St. Athanasius.[2] That the work which he found thus ascribed, was none other than our Athanasian Creed is beyond a question, for he afterwards quotes it verse by verse,

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' pp. 271, etc.

[2] "Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrinæ ecclesiæ antistite sit editum: ita namque sempor eum vidi prætitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus." See Appendix D.

as has been already stated, in his exposition. But these manuscripts, which were old at the beginning of the eighth century, or possibly the end of the seventh, surely could not have been written later than the sixth. And if the Quicunque was commonly ascribed to St. Athanasius in the sixth century, as we thus learn to have been the case, then it could not have been composed later than the conclusion of the fifth century, and might with much more probability be assigned to the early half of that century. The fact of its being regarded as his work in the sixth century proves its earlier origin, though it does not prove its genuineness; for even supposing it to have been a forgery—which is, however, an inadmissible hypothesis—it would have taken some time for copies to be multiplied and circulated and to become generally known.

Thus we are led to believe that the Athanasian Creed was composed certainly not later than the end, probably not later than the middle, of the fifth century. And this conclusion receives confirmation from the fact that it was made the subject of two Commentaries in the seventh century—one, the Troyes Commentary, being probably the work of a little after the middle of the century; the other, that attributed to Fortunatus, of the beginning,—unless, indeed, as is very possible, it belongs to the close of the preceding century. For, as has been already remarked, at the time when the Quicunque was made the subject of exposition, it must have been a well-known and highly esteemed work, one too of reputed antiquity; and this it could

not have been without a pre-existence of some considerable duration.

In regard to the Commentary of Fortunatus, I venture to submit that I have produced new and confirmatory proof in these pages of its antiquity: first, as being the source and basis in some degree of the Troyes Commentary, and hence necessarily the earlier work of the two; second, from the Bouhier, the Oratorian, and the Troyes Commentaries, all containing the most explicit reference to the Monothelete heresy, in which I find a corroboration of the argument, urged by me on a former occasion, that the total absence of any such reference in the Commentary of Fortunatus shows it to have been written before that heresy took its rise and was brought into general notice. Then attention has been drawn to some MSS. of the Commentary, which have hitherto escaped notice, in none of which are found the passages from Isidore and Alcuin, which appear in the Milan MS. of it belonging to the eleventh century; and this is an additional proof that those passages did not belong to the Commentary originally, and therefore supply no kind of evidence of its being written after the time of Alcuin. And lastly, an examination of the passages which bear an apparent relation to other documents has shown that in no instance it was drawn from a source subsequent to the sixth century.

(*c.*) Next, respecting early Canons. Some fresh illustrations of the ancient canonical use of the Creed of St. Athanasius has been produced in the second of

a series of fifteen "capitula" found by me in a British Museum MS.—Addit. 19,725—which are proved by internal evidence to have been compiled in the reign of the Emperor Lothaire. This "capitulum," or canonical direction, has not been hitherto known in this connection, but together with the first of the series relating to Canons, it appears in the printed editions of the works of Jesse of Amiens, as part of his 'Epistola de Baptismo.' That it has been so edited erroneously, is obvious. This capitulum, too, though forming one in a series of capitula drawn up in the time of the Emperor Lothaire, clearly did not originate then, but was part of an earlier work, probably an episcopal or synodical change, or injunction, ordering the use of the Athanasian Creed—a fact proved by the preface to the capitula, which represents them as constructed from earlier materials, and by the explicit internal testimony of the capitulum itself. But when or by whom this earlier work was composed, cannot at present be affirmed with certainty; still, it could not be later than the beginning of the ninth century. Possibly future research may throw further light upon the point. On a former occasion, misled by the printed editions of Jesse's work, I referred to this capitulum as part of his 'Epistola de Baptismo;'[1] my views respecting it have necessarily been altered by the British Museum manuscript.

Further, we have distinct evidence of the canonical

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' p. 170.

use of the Athanasian Creed before the ninth, and indeed the eighth, century in the celebrated Autun Canon, requiring its recitation by the clergy. For, difficult as it is, or rather impossible, to determine the exact date of this Canon to a year, there can be no reasonable doubt that it was enacted by a Synod presided over by St. Leodegar, or Leger, about A.D. 670; for it appears in two different collections of Canons, the earliest of which must have been compiled at the beginning of the eighth, or the end of the seventh, century; and in each of them it is apparently attributed to that bishop. Some account has been given in the preceding pages of the MSS. in the National Library at Paris containing these collections; but it must be recollected that these are not the only MSS. in which they are found, there being not fewer than six manuscripts extant of the earlier, or Angers, Collection, and seven of the later, or Herovall. Dr. Swainson, unable to resist the evidence of the antiquity of this Canon, suggests that it refers not to the Quicunque, but to the 'Fides Romanorum,' which is quoted by Hincmar and Ratramn, in the ninth centufy, as the work of St. Athanasius. But the reply is obvious, that not a single instance can be alleged of the title, "Fides Sancti Athanasii," which is used by this Canon, being applied to the latter profession of Faith, various as are the titles by which it is described, nor yet of its being required, as the "Fides Sancti Athanasii" is here, to be learnt and recited by the clergy. On the other hand, the Quicunque was commonly thus entitled, and its

recitation was enjoined by ancient Canons upon the clergy, as might be abundantly shown. This very same title is given to it in Paris, 3848 B, in which the Autun Canon also appears in the Herovall Collection.

Now the fact of the Athanasian Creed being the subject of canonical injunction in the seventh century, is clearly a similar and co-ordinate proof of its antiquity with that, already noticed, of its being the subject of expository comments at that period. The former fact, as the latter, proves not only that it was in existence in that century, but that it must have been extant some time before. New and obscure and unauthoritative documents are not made the subjects of Canons, any more than of Commentaries.

And according to the Ballerini, we have a still more ancient instance of a canonical injunction respecting the Quicunque in an "Epistola Canonica," which is contained in a collection of Canons, found in two Roman MSS., and assigned by those learned canonists to the early part of the sixth century.[1]

(*d.*) The last class of documents supplying evidence of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed, and referred to on the present occasion, consists of sermons delivered at the "Traditio Symboli" to the candidates for baptism, which incorporate and adapt its terminology.

That the Trèves fragment, preserved in Paris, 3836, is a portion of a document of this class,—that

[1] 'Athanasian Creed: Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin,' by G. D. W. Ommanney, pp. 312, 313.

it was constructed upon the basis of the Quicunque, the phraseology of which it incorporates and adapts, and consequently that the reverse was not the case, as alleged by Professors Swainson and Lumby—itself forming the foundation upon which the latter part of the Creed was built, the germ out of which it was developed,—this, I believe, has been proved to demonstration, in the comparison in detail instituted by me between the two documents. If the proof is not clear, the failure, I am sure, is not owing to the weakness of my case, but of its exponent. This view of the Trèves fragment supplies a new and cogent proof of the antiquity of the Creed. For if the Creed was not drawn from the fragment, or rather the sermon of which it was a portion, then the Creed must be the older of the two documents. And inasmuch as the manuscript containing the fragment certainly belongs to the eighth century, and is generally set down to the early part of it, from this alone it would follow that the Creed must have been extant before that century. But this would be an incomplete statement of the argument. Whatever was the original which the scribe of Paris, 3836—the Colbertine MS., as it is sometimes strangely called—found at Trèves, whether the whole sermon, or merely that portion of which he has preserved for us a copy, the sermon must have been composed some time previously, certainly not after the seventh century, possibly before it; but, whatever was the date of its composition, clearly the Creed, the language of which was so familiar to its author that he adapts it for

his exposition of the doctrine of the Incarnation, must have had a pre-existence of some duration. Waterland, who—erroneously, as I cannot help thinking—regards the Trèves fragment as a copy of the Creed, or rather a portion of it, argues, from its omission of the clause "as the reasonable soul," etc., that "the manuscript"—that, namely, found at Trèves—"was written while the Eutychian controversy was at its height, about the end of the fifth century or beginning of the sixth,"[1] on the ground that the illustration of that clause was avoided by Catholics after the rise of Eutychianism, on account of the abuse made of it by the Monophysites. Clearly this argument can prove nothing in regard to the date of the particular MS. found at Trèves; but if it possesses any validity, it does apply in regard to the date of the sermon, of which that MS. included a copy in whole or in part. And if the sermon was composed at the beginning of the sixth century or the end of the fifth, then the Creed could not be supposed to have been drawn up later than the early half of the latter century. I would not insist upon this as more than a probable argument. Upon the whole, what we learn from the Trèves fragment, in regard to the date of the Athanasian Creed, is that it was certainly extant in the early part of the seventh century, and must, therefore, have been drawn up before its commencement, and that it was probably extant at the beginning of the sixth or the end of

[1] 'History of the Athanasian Creed,' p. 72. Oxford edition, 1870.

the fifth century, and was drawn up not later than the first half of the latter.

The two other ancient sermons which have been referred to as containing terminology drawn from the Quicunque, are a sermon printed in the appendix to the fifth volume of St. Augustine, and attributed by the Benedictine editors to Cæsarius, Bishop of Arles; and another which is found in the Paris MSS., 3848 B and 2123. If the former is rightly attributed to Cæsarius, who died in 543, it may be dated about A.D. 530 or A.D. 540. The latter is evidently earlier, as it presents an earlier type of the Apostles' Creed, and must belong to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century. The expository portion of these sermons may be seen in Appendix, Note G. The connection between them and the Quicunque is not so obvious as that between the Trèves fragment and the Creed, the correspondence in phraseology being less full and extensive; still, it is impossible to avoid the impression that they have both borrowed from the Creed in the same manner, as they both contain expressions which are peculiar to it, and the resemblance is more than can be accounted for by their using, in common with it, the language of Catholic theology. Here again, then, we find an evidence that the Creed was extant at the end of the fifth century.

Taking into consideration all this various and multiplied evidence from manuscripts, ancient Commentaries, Canons, and sermons, the conclusion appears inevitable that the Athanasian Creed was

composed in the first half of the fifth century, not later. When we come to treat of its authorship, some reason will be shown for believing that it was not drawn up earlier.

And almost all this evidence of the antiquity of the Athanasian Creed is new, the fruit of inquiries prosecuted in the last few years, and first set in motion by the controversy on the subject, which agitated the Church of England more especially in the years 1871 and 1872. Most of it was unknown to Waterland. Of the five ancient Commentaries which we have noticed, that scholar was acquainted with that of Fortunatus alone, and with two only of the manuscripts containing it. With respect to the Autun Canon, he expresses himself doubtfully; but since his time its position in the Angers and Herovall Collections has been clearly ascertained, particularly in the recent work of Professor Maassen on 'Canon Law,' and the evidence of its antiquity and authenticity has been thus considerably strengthened. The Vatican MS. Pal. 574, and the Paris MSS. numbered 3848 B, 1451, and 13,159, were entirely unknown to him. We are indebted to Dr. Swainson for first drawing attention to the three last-named manuscripts, especially as he has thereby furnished additional weapons for the destruction of his own theory. The recent assaults upon the Creed have thus served to strengthen its position, by eliciting an enlarged knowledge of its history, and more abundant evidence of its antiquity. The endeavours to prove it to be a work of the ninth century have signally failed.

II. But while the documents to which I have invited attention supply new and important evidence of the antiquity of the Creed of St. Athanasius, they throw little or no light upon the interesting question of its authorship. Whoever the author may have been, clearly he drew his materials to a great extent from the writings of St. Augustine, of whose dogmatic teaching it presents a true and even literal delineation. Throughout, in the exposition of the doctrines both of the Trinity and Incarnation, the language of the great Western Doctor keeps cropping up. I will not extend my work, already too long, by giving proof of this in detail; any one may satisfy himself on the point by comparing the parallel passages of St. Augustine, as they appear *seriatim* in the recent Oxford edition of Waterland's treatise, with the text of the Creed; and if he refers to the context of those passages, he will, I believe, be led to a still clearer perception of the relation in which they stand to it. I venture to think that I have added another instance to this series of correspondences by showing that one of the most remarkable expressions in the Quicunque —"resurgere habent"—is but a natural and habitual mode of expression with this Father, indeed, was actually used by him. Really, the Quicunque might be more fitly called the Creed of St. Augustine than of St. Athanasius; for if it represents the teaching of the latter in substance, as, no doubt, it does, it represents that of the former in letter as well. The similarity is of such a character, of such extent and closeness, as to point convincingly to one of two

alternatives—either that the Creed was drawn in some degree from St. Augustine's writings, or that St. Augustine drew from the Creed. The latter hypothesis is clearly most improbable. That the great Western Doctor should have been acquainted with such a momentous exposition of the Faith without dropping a single hint of such a thing in the whole course of his voluminous writings—nay, more, that he should have repeatedly made use of its language without once acknowledging the source of his inspiration, is inconceivable. We are, therefore, thrown back upon the former alternative.

The fact, then, appears to be, that the author, being thoroughly familiar with the writings of St. Augustine, in framing the Creed, was led to adopt their language, wherever it suited his purpose. And this being the case, it follows not only that the Creed was not the composition of the illustrious opponent of Arianism, with whose name it is commonly associated, but that it could not have been drawn up till after the publication of those works of St. Augustine with which it is connected. These are some sermons of uncertain date; the Commentary on St. John, assigned by the Benedictine editors to the year 416; the 'Enchiridion,' which, according to the same authority, was not completed in 420; and the books on the Trinity, which appear to have been finished and published about the same time—the earlier books, however, had been stolen and surreptitiously circulated some years before in an unrevised state. To these may probably be added the second book against

Maximinus, which was not written before 427 or 428. So that the Creed could not possibly have been composed earlier than the year 420, and probably was not composed before 428. And from external evidence we have arrived at the conclusion that it was not composed later than the middle of the same century.

Is there any writer of this epoch to whom it may with any degree of probability be ascribed? Vincent of Lerins was a native of Gaul, which was, as there is some reason for believing, the birthplace of the Quicunque; and the Abbey of Lerins, where he was a monk, was in the south of that country. He wrote the 'Commonitorium' in the year 434, and died in 450; and several passages in this work, especially its exposition of the Incarnation, bear an obvious resemblance to parts of the Athanasian Creed, so much so, that Antelmi was induced to believe the author of the one to be the author of the other. The resemblance is certainly marked enough to prove some connection between the two works; it is more than would arise from their both employing in common the terms of Catholic theology. There are some characteristic touches in the Creed which seem to come from the hand which composed the 'Commonitorium.' Thus, if the Creed has "ita de Trinitate *sentiat*," we find St. Vincent introducing his exposition with the very same phrase: "Eccelesia Catholica et de Deo et de Salvatore nostro recta *sentiens*," etc. The two verses of the Creed: "Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in Unitate *veneremur*, neque *confundentes* personas, neque sub-

stantiam *separantes*," bear a marked resemblance of thought and language to the two following passages of the 'Commonitorium:'—"Ecclesia Catholica . . . et unam divinitatem in Trinitatis plenitudine et Trinitatis æqualitatem in una atque eadem Majestate *veneratur*," and "Catholica ecclesia *unum Deum* in Trinitatis plenitudine et item Trinitatis æqualitatem in una divinitate *veneratur*, ut *neque* singularitas *substantiæ personarum confundat* proprietatem, *neque* item Trinitatis distinctio unitatem *separet* Deitatis." Most of the ancient MSS. read, in the 28th verse of the Creed, "*confiteamur* quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus *pariter* et homo est;" and in the 'Commonitorium' we meet with "Ecclesia . . . unum Christum, non duos, eumdemque *Deum pariter atque hominem confitetur*." The Creed has "homo *ex* anima rationali et humana carne *subsistens;*" and precisely the same expression and construction appear in the 'Commonitorium:' "Paulus *ex* duplici diversaque *subsistens* animique corporisque natura." Still more striking is the correspondence between the following passages:—"Deus est ex substantia Patris *ante sæcula genitus*, homo ex substantia matris *in sæculo natus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo*," of the Creed, and "idem ex Patre *ante sæcula genitus*, idem ex matre *in sæculo generatus; perfectus Deus, perfectus homo*," of the 'Commonitorium.' It is remarkable that the words "perfectus Deus, perfectus homo" are not to be found in St. Augustine, though the sense which they express is abundantly taught by him, and he uses the similar terms: "totus Deus et totus homo,"

and "verus Deus et verus homo." That the verse of the Creed, "unus omnino *non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ*," was founded upon St. Augustine's "idem Deus qui homo et qui Deus idem homo *non confusione* naturæ, *sed unitate personæ*,"[1] there can be little doubt; but the following passages of the 'Commonitorium' appear to show that the author of that work also was acquainted with these words of the Father, and was not an unlikely person to change the "naturæ" of St. Augustine into the "substantiæ" of the Creed:—"*Unus autem* non corruptibili nescio qua divinitatis et humanitatis *confusione, sed* integra et singulari *unitate personæ*; neque enim illa conjunctio alterum in alterum convertit atque mutavit, sed ita in unum potius utrumque compegit, ut manente semper in Christo singularitate unius ejusdemque personæ, in æternum quoque permaneat proprietas utriusque naturæ." A little after St. Vincent uses "substantia" for "natura" in the same connection: "Ita in Christo quoque utriusque *substantiæ* sua cuique in æternum proprietas, salva tamen *personæ unitate*, retinenda est." The first of these two passages presents an evident similarity of thought and language, not only to the verse of the Creed last quoted, but to that immediately preceding it: "*Unus autem* non *conversione* divinitatis in carnem, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum." St. Vincent concludes his exposition of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation by declaring his intention, God willing, to treat of the subject more fully on some

[1] 'Ser.' clxxvi. 1.

future occasion. All this correspondence in thought and phraseology between the 'Commonitorium' and the Athanasian Creed, viewed in connection with the fact that the author of the former work flourished in the age and the country which, as we have reason to believe, produced the latter, renders it very probable that he was the author of the latter also. And of all persons to whom the Quicunque has been assigned, St. Vincent of Lerins is the only one to whom it can be assigned with any degree of probability. Still, all this does not amount to positive proof; and it is impossible to dispute the soundness of Montfaucon's conclusion, that the authorship of St. Vincent cannot be affirmed with certainty, when not a single writer or manuscript can be alleged as bearing testimony in its favour. The point is still *sub judice*. But if this Father was not the author of the Quicunque, such is the connection between that and the 'Commonitorium,' as to necessitate the conviction, either that he was acquainted with the former at the time when he wrote the latter, or that the author of the former, whoever he was, drew some of his expressions from the latter. That Waterland was mistaken in his grounds for ascribing the authorship to St. Hilary of Arles, I think that I have shown on this, as on a previous occasion, by reference to the Oxford manuscript, on which he rested his hypothesis.

It being admitted that the Quicunque is not the genuine work of St. Athanasius—a point which has been considered settled ever since Montfaucon wrote his 'Diatribe'—the question necessarily suggests itself

how it came to be attributed to him, and that, too, at so early a period as the sixth century? For that such was the case we gather, as has been seen, from the preface to the Oratorian Commentary. One way of accounting for this is to represent the Creed as a forgery, as some persons have recently represented it. But it is no forgery. To place it in the same category with the spurious documents found in abundance in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals would be absurd. For they bear no resemblance to it whatever, either in style or subject matter: as regards the former, being pleonastic and involved; as regards the latter, having reference generally to some fictitious precedent from antiquity, which had been devised for the purpose of bolstering up ecclesiastical authority on some weak or disputed point. A terse and vigorous exposition of the Catholic doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, expressed in the language of the Fathers, was not the kind of ware which the forgers of ecclesiastical documents delighted to produce. We should search in vain, too, for any adequate motive or cause which could account for the imputed forgery. Could it be proved that the Creed was not composed till the ninth century, after the rise of the controversy between the East and West respecting the Procession of the Holy Ghost, it might be alleged, with some show of reason, that it was palmed upon the world as the work of St. Athanasius, for the purpose of claiming his high authority in support of the Western doctrine. But the attempt to prove this has signally failed, and has only served to strengthen and increase the evidence

that it was drawn up long before the commencement of that controversy. The author was a Latin, and his work was first published and circulated in the West; that he should have represented it as the production of St. Athanasius is highly improbable, especially considering that he drew his materials mainly from the writings of St. Augustine. The fraud would have been needless in regard to the Catholics, and useless in regard to the heretics. The former found in the Quicunque the echo of their hearts' belief, and it did not require the sanction of any name to recommend it to their acceptance and use. To the latter it was the symbol of doctrines which they repudiated and hated; and to stamp upon it the superscription of their most illustrious opponent was not likely to win for it their assent and approval. Arianism was probably the principal cause which called the Creed into being; and, possibly, without any fraudulent intention, it may have become at first associated with the name of Athanasius, as the exposition in substance of his teaching in opposition to that heresy, just as the Apostles' Creed may have acquired its title from the fact that it is a summary of their teaching, not from any desire to represent it as literally their composition. But there is another way of accounting for the circumstance under our consideration, and, as I am inclined to think, a more probable one. In the early Middle Ages, a variety of professions of Faith were extant, which were attributed, and in most cases wrongly, to eminent Fathers and Doctors. Thus three at least were ascribed to St. Jerome, three to

St. Augustine, three to St. Athanasius, two to St. Gregory the Great, one to St. Ambrose, and besides the genuine Creed, the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis' was described as the composition of the Fathers of Nice. What was the cause of this? Not forgery; for the same profession in different manuscripts is found assigned to different authors. Thus the profession commonly described as "Fides Hieronymi" is also ascribed to St. Augustine, and the 'Liber de Dogmatibus' to the same Father, as well as to the Nicene Council, and the 'Fides Romanorum' to Athanasius. The probable account of this circumstance is to be found in the carelessness of the ancient copyists. One of these professions might be written in a MS. without the name of any author, after the works of some eminent Father, perhaps for mere convenience sake, perhaps as coming under the same class. Another scribe, noticing this, would assume it to be the composition of that Father, and would describe it accordingly in his own copy. Then others would reiterate that description. I think I have been able to trace this process in one or two instances. Thus, in Paris, 3836, a MS. of the early part of the eighth century, there are two professions of Faith, both anonymous, but ascribed to the same person, and they immediately succeed another profession, which consists of several Anathematisms affirmed to have been drawn up at a Council held at Rome, and described as sent by Pope Damasus to Paulinus of Antioch. In Paris, 1451, a MS. of rather later date, the same documents appear in the same

order; but the two professions, which are introduced anonymously in the older manuscript, are here combined into one, which is entitled, 'Fides Romanorum.' Thus it is not only evident that this document is formed of two originally separate professions, but it would also appear that a copyist, finding it, whether in its combined or separate form, immediately following the Anathematisms of the Roman Council under Damasus, rushed to the conclusion that it must have proceeded from the same Council; hence its title. Again, this same profession, under the title of "Expositio fidei catholicæ" or "Libellus fidei," is in other MSS. attached to eight books of treatises and professions of Faith, universally attributed from an early period to Athanasius; hence it came to be also ascribed to St. Athanasius, and was quoted as his in the ninth century by Hincmar and Ratramn. These books, by the way, are the same which have been edited by Chifflet as the work of Vigilius 'De Trinitate,' and in his edition, the 'Fides Romanorum' forms the ninth book of that work; but their authorship is very uncertain, and the hypothesis that they were published by Vigilius under the name of Athanasius appears to rest upon mere conjecture, unsupported by proof; a far more simple and probable account of their being attributed to Athanasius is to be found in the fact that most of them are in the form of dialogues or discussions, in which that Father takes the principal part. Again, in two Paris MSS. of the tenth century, numbered 2076 and 2341, the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis' is distinctly

attributed to the Fathers of Nice by the following title:—"Dogma sanctorum patrum trecentorum et octo episcoporum congregatis (*sic*) apud Nicaeam Bithiniae." This seems to be accounted for by the position which it occupies in an earlier manuscript, previously referred to—Paris, 1451—where it is simply entitled, "Definitio ecclesiasticorum dogmatum," and follows immediately after the Nicene Creed and Canons and the names of the subscribing bishops at Nice. The juxtaposition of this profession with the list of the Nicene Fathers and the Creed and Canons drawn up by them, seems to have given occasion for the inference that it was also their work. In like manner, the Quicunque may in the first instance have come to be attributed to St. Athanasius from the mere fact of its being mixed up in ancient manuscripts with writings of that celebrated Father or those which were ascribed to him. It would appear that in the ninth century it was thus mixed up with the doctrinal treatises mentioned previously, as being anciently attributed to Athanasius, but which are now edited among the works of Vigilius Tapsensis; for it is quoted together with them by Theodulphus in his book 'De Spiritu Sancto,' by Hincmar in his treatise 'De Una non Trina Deitate,' and by Æneas of Paris in his 'Liber contra Græcos.' I am not aware, however, of any manuscript now extant in which it is found in this juxtaposition. But in whatever way it first came to be ascribed to St. Athanasius—whether this arose from its being regarded as the symbol and expression of the truths

for which he contended, or whether the cause was simply the carelessness of the ancient copyists,—and whatever be the uncertainty still enveloping the precise date of its composition and its authorship, its title to our reverent esteem stands clear and sure. For this rests, not upon the authority of any individual, however illustrious, who may have been credited rightly or wrongly with the authorship, but upon its intrinsic value, as the true exposition of the vital Catholic doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, and upon its ancient reception and use in the Church. We do not believe the Apostles' Creed to have been actually drawn up by the Apostles, nor can we say for certain what was the cause and ground of its being ascribed to them in the first instance; but we do not therefore disparage it, nor denounce it as a forgery, nor demand its removal from the public services of the Church. The case of the Athanasian Creed is precisely analogous.

There are two points in connection with the opinion or tradition ascribing the Quicunque to St. Athanasius, brought into notice in the preceding pages, which it may be worth while to draw attention to specially before dismissing the subject. The first is the very early origin of this opinion. From the preface to the Oratorian Commentary, it appears to have been current in the sixth century. The second is the remarkable development which this opinion attained in the lapse of time. The Commentary found in the Royal MS. 8, B XIV., which is considered by Mr. Thompson to have been written in England about

the year 1200, not only asserts that the Quicunque was composed by St. Athanasius, but that it was composed by him at the Council of Nice.

III. Next, with regard to the ancient reception and use of the Athanasian Creed in the offices of the Church, some fresh information is, I venture to think, supplied by the documents which I have produced and referred to.

The interesting Psalter contained in Paris, 13,159, would alone suffice to prove that the Creed was recited in the offices of the Church in the dominions of Charlemagne at the close of the eighth century. The obvious reason of its being subjoined at the end of Psalters, together with the Canticles from the Old and New Testament, which it was customary to recite or sing in the offices of the Church, is that it was used together with them in those offices. It appears in this Psalter, the date of which is indisputably fixed by clear internal evidence between Christmas, A.D. 795, and Christmas, A.D. 800.

The recent discovery of the lost Psalter of Lothaire, which appears from internal evidence to have been written in the year 833, is a new and important addition to the proofs, which already existed in abundance, of the use of the Quicunque in Church offices within the same dominions—the great empire of the West—in the early part of the ninth century.

But if I am right respecting the date of the Oratorian Commentary, and I think I have supported my opinion by sufficient reasons, the Athanasian Creed must have been recited in churches much earlier—

at the beginning of the eighth century or possibly the end of the seventh. For the preface to that document describes it as "that little work of the Faith which is commonly recited in churches, and which, in a degree beyond other works of the same kind, is made use of by our presbyters as a manual of meditation." [1] This, of course, need not be understood except as referring to the country or diocese in which this Commentary was composed, which was in all probability situated in Gaul. And there is nothing antecedently improbable in the fact, which we are thus informed of, that the Quicunque was, about A.D. 700, recited in the churches of Gaul, if not universally, at least in some part or parts, considering that some years previously the clergy there, as we learn by the Canon of Autun, had been required to learn it by heart (and this was required of them, in all likelihood, on purpose that they might be able to recite it in church), and considering, too, that at the time it had already been made the subject of more than one elaborate Commentary—a proof that it was then well known and highly esteemed. It is quite true that no Psalter is known of at the present day, containing the Quicunque, which was written indisputably prior to the reign of Charlemagne. But this is no proof that it was not recited before then, and for the obvious reason that so exceedingly few Psalters of any kind, belonging to that remote antiquity, have survived the vast destruction of manuscripts which has taken place in the course of the last thousand

[1] See Appendix D.

years. Who can tell how many Psalters containing the Athanasian Creed existed in the eighth century, and very possibly yet earlier, which have since perished? In his list of Latin Psalters not containing the Quicunque, Dr. Swainson is unable to mention more than four which he has reason to date before the ninth century.[1] Of these, two are clearly irrelevant as regards our point; for, by his own showing, the Canticles, as well as the Quicunque, are absent from them; and we cannot expect to find the latter without the former, because the latter always follows the former. He seems to speak doubtfully, too, of their dates: one is *considered*, the other is *said*, "to be of the seventh or eighth century." A third—the celebrated St. Germain's Psalter, described by the authors of the 'Nouveau Traité' as one of the most rare and precious manuscripts in Europe, contains neither Canticles nor Creeds, as I can affirm from my own knowledge, having been permitted to see it by the courtesy of Monsieur Delisle. It closes with the apocryphal 151st Psalm. Respecting the fourth —a Psalter at Rome—Dr. Swainson does not state whether or not the Canticles are absent from it as well as the Quicunque. Probably they are. So that it appears that only four Psalters written before the ninth century can be produced in which the Quicunque is not found. And not one of these can be alleged to disprove the use of it in Church offices before that century, for if they could be alleged for this purpose they would supply an equally valid argument in dis-

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 345.

proof of the recitation of the Canticles before the same epoch. But this is a *reductio ad absurdum.* Clearly, therefore, they furnish no evidence in regard to the point in question, nor even so much as establish the improbability of the recitation of the Quicunque in churches previous to the ninth century or yet earlier—previous to the reign of Charlemagne. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that instances of Psalters, though of course comparatively rare, are known, which were written in and after the ninth century, in ages *i.e.* when beyond a question the Athanasian Creed was recited in public worship in the Western Church, but which contain neither that nor any other Creed nor Canticles. I should imagine that such Psalters were not intended for use in the celebration of Church offices.

But I have not yet done with Dr. Swainson's notes of Latin Psalters not containing the Quicunque. They are in number twenty, in date ranging from the fifth or sixth to the eleventh or twelfth centuries. Now, supposing his information respecting these Psalters to be really authentic and accurate, is it not a very manifest proof of the general acceptance of the Quicunque in the West in the long period embraced by them, that out of all the Psalters written within its duration, which are now known to exist—and their number must be very considerable, though a mere fraction of the number formerly in existence—Professor Swainson, after making inquiries in every quarter he could think of, should not be able to hear of more than twenty

in which it is not inserted? But is it really absent from all these twenty Psalters? And is the information respecting them authentic and accurate? I am able to mention one or two facts which may assist in forming a judgment on these points. No. 3 in this list is the magnificent Psalter in the Paris MS. numbered 11,550 in the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale. Having inspected it in one of my visits to that library, I am in a position to assert that Dr. Swainson has been misinformed in regard to its not containing the Quicunque. I not only noticed that document therein, but took collations of the text, which are given in Appendix I. Again, in his notice of Greek Psalters,[1] his first reference is to a Psalter in Greek and Latin, which he describes as being subjoined to some works of St. Cyprian in the Paris MS. 10,592. But it is not to be found in that volume at all, as I have already stated. In regard to this mistake of Dr. Swainson's, it is sufficient to refer to my previous notice of the MS. The Psalter does not contain the Quicunque, and for the best of reasons—it is imperfect at the end, terminating at some place of the seventy-second Psalm; and is therefore wholly beside the purpose of the professor's argument. Who can tell whether, in its perfect state, there were annexed to it any Canticles or Creeds or not? With these two specimens of Dr. Swainson's inaccuracy before us, it is impossible to doubt that he has been misled by second-hand and unreliable information. Again, in these notes of Psalters which do *not* contain

[1] 'The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' p. 339.

the Quicunque, it will be observed that, by the account of their author, this Creed, together with the Apostles' and Nicene Creed, does appear in one of them—that numbered 11, St. Augustine's Psalter—though the Creeds and New Testament Canticles were written rather later than the preceding documents; and concerning the last in the list, he gives a very uncertain sound: "*as it seems*, it did not contain the Quicunque;" and of the whole number seven contain neither Canticles nor Creeds, and are therefore clearly irrelevant, and in five the Canticles appear, but no Creeds at all. Enough, I think, has been said concerning these notes of Psalters not containing the Quicunque, to show their utter insignificance as regards their intended purpose, which was, I presume, to disprove or discredit the antiquity of the use of the Athanasian Creed in Church offices.

The Autun Canon is of great value, as showing that the Athanasian Creed was required to be learnt by heart by the clergy, at least in one diocese of Gaul, in the seventh century. And it may be but a sample of other local Canons, of a like nature and of equal antiquity, which have been lost. Of course, the Canon cannot be adduced as affording more than probable evidence that the Creed was recited in Church offices at the time of its enactment. For this, though probably the reason why it was passed, possibly was not so; the reason may have been simply the dogmatic value of the Quicunque as the Church's exposition of the doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation.

I have shown, from a MS. in the British Museum,

Addit. 19,725, that what has hitherto been regarded as a passage in the Epistle of Jesse, Bishop of Amiens, respecting baptism, enjoining the use of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds, forms the second of a series of capitula, or injunctions, addressed to the clergy in the reign of the Emperor Lothaire; and it bears internal proof of being extracted from an earlier work. This, then, is a new testimony to the canonical imposition of the Quicunque in the early part of the ninth century, which may well be set side by side with the Canon of Ahyto, or Hatto, of Basle of the same epoch; and it is an indication of its yet earlier use under authoritative direction.

The prayer to be used after the recital of the Athanasian Creed, which is found at the end of Bede's abbreviated Psalter, possesses a peculiar interest for us in England, as an earlier notice than any hitherto known of the reception of the Creed in our own country. I do not allege this as a proof that the Creed had been admitted into Church offices generally in England so early as the time of Bede, though such a thing is, of course, quite within the bounds of possibility; for the document may possibly have been drawn up by Bede for the use of his own monastery solely. But if it is genuine, and there appears no reason for denying its genuineness, it clearly shows that the Creed was known in England, and was in use at least in the important monastery of Jarrow, in the early part of the eighth century; for Bede died A.D. 735. At the end of that century, Bishop Deneberht adopted the very language of the Quicunque in his

profession of Faith, and used expressions respecting it showing that at the time of his so doing it must have been a well-known and authoritative document in our country—not a recent importation. So that by the profession of Deneberht we are led to expect as probable what we now learn to be a fact from this abbreviated Psalter of Bede.

Of the early use of the Athanasian Creed in the offices of the English Church we have positive proof, in its appearance with an Anglo-Saxon interlinear gloss in a Psalter of the beginning of the tenth century, now in the British Museum, Reg. 2, B. V., which was certainly written in England. Some notice has been taken of this Psalter in the present volume. It is remarkable that the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, the Te Deum, and the apocryphal 151st Psalm, which are usually found in Psalters, are all absent from it. The Quicunque appears, too, with an interlinear Saxon gloss, or version, in another interesting Psalter which I have seen in the British Museum—Arundel, 60—written towards the close of the eleventh century, probably at Winchester, at the time when Walkeline was bishop of that see. Of course, there are other Psalters containing the Quicunque with an Anglo-Saxon version, or gloss; but these two I mention particularly as having come under my own notice.

And the use of the Athanasian Creed anciently was not confined to the clergy. Being said at Prime—a service at which the laity assisted on Sundays and holy days before Mass—they heard and joined in it.

Hence, though the laity were not required to learn it by heart like the clergy, they were instructed in its meaning, and it was explained to them and translated into the vernacular, that they might be able to understand it, together with the Apostles' Creed and Lord's Prayer. Of this we have evidence as regards Germany in a German translation of the ninth century, to which I have drawn attention, preserved in a contemporary MS. at Wolfenbüttel, and in that by Notker of the tenth century; and as regards our own country, in the interlinear Saxon versions and glosses which are found in old English Psalters, as in the two which I have just mentioned. As to France, there is evidence to the same purport in Hincmar's capitulum, passed in the middle of the ninth century, ordering presbyters to explain the Quicunque "communibus verbis," *i.e.* in the vernacular. One of the inquiries to be made by bishops, according to Regino, Abbot of Prum, who published his book on 'Ecclesiastical Discipline' about A.D. 900, was whether priests were able to do this. Such had been doubtless the rule and practice of the Church in France and Germany for some time previous. Otherwise he would scarcely have mentioned it as a subject for episcopal inquiry. In fact, he adopts the language of Hincmar's capitula in reference to this and other points of ritual.

Thus we have evidence running up to the commencement of the eighth century of the use of the Athanasian Creed in Church offices. And the absence of any earlier evidence of a positive nature is no

ground for assuming that it was not so used anywhere before that. On the contrary, the Autun Canon renders it probable that it was recited in divine service in the seventh century, in some parts, at least, of France, if not generally; and if it was so commonly used in churches at the commencement of the eighth century, as appears from the preface to the Oratorian Commentary to have been the case, at any rate in one province, or diocese, the practice must have been at the time, we should imagine, of some standing. But such is our ignorance of the sixth and seventh centuries, that it is impossible to fix with certainty the precise period when the Creed began to be recited in public worship, or yet the precise locality which gave birth to the custom. Probably the practice originated in Gaul, and thence extended to Germany and England. But I forbear to prosecute the subject any further, my present business being merely to summarize the evidences of the ancient use and reception of the Athanasian Creed supplied by the documents that have come under our notice, not to give a general or full account of its use in the Church Catholic.

IV. Lastly, in regard to the theory of growth, there is no reliable evidence that the Athanasian Creed was formed by a process of gradual accretion. At any rate, no such process could have taken place after the sixth century, when it appears to have existed in its completeness as we now have it.

A few years ago, when a keen agitation was raised respecting the retention of the Creed in the Church

of England, a notion became widely prevalent that originally it was something very different from what it is now, in particular that the Damnatory clauses were comparatively later additions, or rather substitutions for others of a different nature. And it was seriously proposed to smooth down difficulties and to satisfy objectors, by removing the clauses, which grate harshly upon many ears, and thus reducing the document to its supposed primitive purity. This notion does not appear to be quite extinct even now; the proposal based upon it has been again mooted very recently. Hence my explicit reference to it. The groundlessness of this theory of growth, particularly as regards the Damnatory clauses, is sufficiently proved by the fact that not a single MS. of the Creed can be produced in support of it. Not a single MS. has been discovered from which these clauses are absent, or which presents a text varying materially from that known and received among ourselves. The general accordance of Latin MSS. in regard to the text is remarkable. In support of my position, I would refer to Appendix I, which contains collations of several early MSS. which were not collated by Waterland—indeed, were unknown to him.

The only manuscript which afforded even an apparent support for the above-mentioned hypothesis, was that of the Trèves fragment, in Paris, 3836. That fragment used to be commonly represented as a fragment of the Athanasian Creed. But clearly it is not so. It is a fragment of a sermon, or address; as, indeed, Dr. Swainson allows and stoutly maintains.

And if it is not the Creed nor a portion of it, how can it be adduced to prove what the text of the Creed was originally? That scholar, however, while denying that the Trèves fragment is the same as the Creed, asserts, strangely enough, that it was the basis upon which the latter part of the Creed was constructed. And in this he is followed by another Cambridge Professor, Dr. Lumby. I therefore thought it important to show, by a comparison in detail of the fragment and the correlative portion of the Quicunque, that the reverse of this was really the case, the former being founded upon the latter. If my contention is right, as I confidently believe it to be, it follows not only, as I before said, that the fragment becomes a very significant evidence of the antiquity of the Creed, but also that Dr. Swainson's theory of growth falls to the ground.

In support of his theory of growth, Dr. Swainson referred to the Commentary of Fortunatus, arguing that those passages or clauses of the Creed which were not quoted nor noticed in the Commentary could not have belonged to the former at the time when the latter was composed. The argument was clearly founded upon a fallacy, as I endeavoured to point out. To go over old ground again would be wearisome and useless. I only allude to the matter here because the Troyes Commentary—which bears an obvious relation to that of Fortunatus, being probably founded upon it, and which evidently has reference to the whole Creed—supplies a clear confirmation of my position as to the unsoundness of the argument in

question. For the Troyes Commentary, while it quotes several verses of the Creed which are not quoted by Fortunatus's exposition, at the same time omits to quote many more which are quoted by the latter, and are thereby proved to have belonged at the time to the Creed.

And not only is it the case that extant MSS. of the Athanasian Creed fail to yield any support to the theory of growth, but the preface to the Oratorian Commentary supplies positive disproof of it, at least in the shape in which it has been advanced. For in that preface the author of the Commentary speaks of *old manuscripts* of the Creed as existing in his time. And what he understood by the work which he represents as being in those MSS. invariably ascribed to Athanasius, is evident; for he goes on in his Commentary to quote the whole of the Creed, verse by verse, including the Damnatory clauses. Thus the evidence of the existence of the Creed, in its completeness, is carried up to a higher antiquity by this preface than it is by any of the MSS. now extant—even to the sixth century. For the MSS. referred to by the commentator could not, as we have seen, be supposed to be later than that, if the Commentary was composed, as we have sufficient reason for believing it was, at the commencement of the eighth century. Hence it is highly probable that the Creed has never received any additions or alterations of significance, and has been handed down to us in its original type, such as it issued from the hands of the author. At any rate,

there is no evidence of its having ever passed through a period of growth; while there is evidence that no such process took place after the sixth century.

In bringing this work to a termination, I cannot refrain from giving utterance to my heart's desire and prayer, that the great confession of Faith which it treats of may ever be retained in and by this Church of England; that as we have received it from our Christian forefathers, so we may hand it down to our children, in its integrity, undiluted by mistranslation, unmutilated by excision of clauses, unencumbered by ambiguous explanations. If it were removed from the Prayer-book, or, though kept there, relegated into silence, or its recitation made optional, in any case the change would be a serious one; the Church could not consent to such a change without rejecting or burying in the earth a talent committed to her by her divine Head, and marvellously preserved to her amid all the convulsions and changes which have marked her history; one of the notes and links of her identity with the Church of our country in past ages, the Church of Andrewes and Anselm, would be wantonly abandoned; her witness to the Catholic Faith, in respect of the essential doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation, would not be of the same distinct articulate character as heretofore; her children would be deprived of an important help and guide to the right apprehension of those great truths, which they have hitherto enjoyed. And no one can suppose that such a downward step could be taken without involving,

in God's righteous disposal of events, further serious consequences; other similar measures would follow, each sinking the Church to a lower doctrinal level, and gradually loosening her grasp of a definite dogmatic faith, until in the end rationalism would reign triumphant.

APPENDIX.

A.

COPY of the first Commentary on the Athanasian Creed contained in Troyes, 804, and entitled, "Expositio fidei catholicae:"—

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides dicitur credulitas sive credentia; Catholica vero universalis vocatur, quod ab universa ecclesia tenere oportet. Ecclesia autem est congregatio fidelium, sive conventus fidelium populi. Fides vera haec est, ut credamus et confiteamur unum est verum deum in Trinitate et Trinitatem in unitate; neque confundentes personas, ut Sabellius hereticus, qui ipsum dixit esse Patrem in persona quem et Filium, ipsum Filium quem et Spiritum Sanctum. Fides autem catholica est nec personas confundere neque deitatem separare, quoniam tres personae, una vero divinitas deitatis. Est enim gignens, genitus, et procedens; gignens est Pater, qui genuit Filium; Filius vero est a Patre; Spiritus autem Sanctus nec genitus, quia non est Filius, neque ingenitus, quoniam non est Pater, sed ex Patre et Filio procedens. Quae tres personae Pater videlicet et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, consubstantiales sibi sunt et co-aeternae et co-aequales atque co-operatores, de quibus in Psalmo scriptum est: Verbo Domini cœli firmati sunt, et spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum. In persona quippe Domini Pater intelligitur, in

Verbo vero ejus Filius accipitur, in spiritu autem oris ejus ipse Spiritus Sanctus designatur. Quae tres personae deitatis et singillatim tres sunt et singulariter substantiae[1] unum existunt, non essentiae divisę,[2] sicut Arrius impie predicare ausus est, qui sicut tres personas in Deum[3] esse credidit, ita et tres substantias commentatus est.[4] Filium Dei minorem esse dixit Patri, non de substantia ejus genitum, sed ex nichilo temporaliter creatum; Spiritum autem Sanctum similiter non creatorem sed creaturam plusquam minorem quam Filium, et Patris et Filii ministrum asserunt, et ideo non creatorem cum Patre et Filio neque verum Deum eundum Spiritum Sanctum, sed creaturam, ut dictum est, predicare ausus est; quasi quosdam gradus impietatis suae in Deum, qui unus est, arbitratus, Patrem scilicet, ut aurum, Filium vero, quasi argentum, Spiritum autem Sanctum eramentum.[5] Nos autem impietatem ejus

[1] So the MS. [2] *e*, with a cedilla, is often written for *æ*.

[3] Several times in this Commentary the accusative case is used where we should have expected the ablative: "Duas voluntates atque operationes in singularitatem personae;" "non duos Christos neque duas personas . . . in eum credere oportet," and elsewhere. This note of barbarous Latinity appears in other writings of the age: in Paris, 3836, a MS. of the eighth century, we have "Omnia facta sunt sive quae in caelo sive que in terram;" and in Paris, 1451, a dated MS. of the end of the eighth century: "In nicenum concilium fuerunt damnati arrius et fotinus et sabellius."

[4] In the corresponding passage in Fortunatus's Commentary, we have: "Tres substantias esse mentitur." "Commentatus est" gives an equally good sense—*invented, devised.*

[5] "Opus ex ære confectum," DUCANGE, 'Glossarium' sub voce *æramentum.* The analogy of the three substances of gold, silver, and brass, as representing the Arian doctrine of the Trinity, is found in St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Agone Christiano,' lib. i. cap. xv., and in the Synodical Epistle of St. Athanasius, and the Council of Alexandria held A.D. 362. ἢ ὥσπερ διαφόρους οὐσίας, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ χρυσὸς, ἢ ἄργυρος ἢ χαλκὸς, οὕτω καὶ αὐτοὶ λέγωσιν.—S. ATHANASII 'Tomus ad Antiochemos,' 5; 'Opera,' tom. i. p. 773. Edit. 1698.

anathematizantes credimus et confitemur aliam esse personam Patris, quem ingenitum ideo appellamus, quia a nullo est genitus, aliam personam Filii, quia Patre solus est genitus, aliam vero personam Spiritus Sancti, qui neque ingenitus, ut Pater, neque genitus, ut Filius, sed ex Patre Filioque procedit. Et in his tribus personis, Patris videlicet et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, una est essentia divinitatis, aequalis gloria, co-aeterna majestas, unita potestas communisque operatio. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus; hoc est, a nullo creatus. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus et Spiritus Sanctus; quia metiri omnino non possunt. Incircumscriptus Pater, incircumscriptus Filius, incircumscriptus Spiritus Sanctus; quia non loco continentur, sed ubique presentes existunt. Invisibilis Pater, invisibilis Filius, invisibilis et Spiritus Sanctus; quia videri a nullo queunt. Aeturnus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus; non tanem tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus, neque initium habens, neque fine concluditur. Omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens, quia omnia que vult potest. Hoc enim non potest, quod non vult, hoc est, quod non expedit. Veritas est, quia falli omnino non potest. Virtus est, quoniam infirmari omnino non potest. Vita est, quia mori nullo modo potest. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus, non tamen tres dii, sed unus est Deus. Deus enim nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Pater nomen est Patri, quod Pater est; proprium nomen est Filio, quod Filius est; et proprium nomen est Spiritus Sancti Spiritus Sanctus. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus; non tamen tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.[1] Dominus autem ideo

[1] It is deserving of notice that this Commentary quotes the 11th,

appellatur pro eo quod omnem creaturam cæli ac terræ dominetur. Sicut enim singillatim, ut dictum est, unam quamque personam et Deum et Dominum digne confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres Deos vel tres Dominos credere, ut predicare, auctoritate divina et ratione veritatis prohibemur. Si autem quislibet quempiam ex doctoribus interrogare voluerit, quid sit Pater; ratione veritatis et auctoritate divina, ut dictum est; respondere illi necesse est, Deus et Dominus. Similiter si inquirat, quid est Filius; respondere illi oportet, Deus et Dominus, sicut et Pater. Si autem sciscitetur ab eo, quid sit et Spiritus Sanctus; similiter ei respondere convenit, Deus et Dominus, quemadmodum Pater et Filius. Sed in his tribus personis non tres Deos neque tres Dominos, sed unum Deum et unum Dominum esse confirmet. Unus ergo Pater, qui nunquam fuit sine Filio, non tres Patres. Unus est Filius co-aeternus Patri, non tres Filii. Unus est Spiritus Sanctus ex Patre et Filio procedens, non tres Spiritus Sancti, neque posterior aut inferior vel minor Patri et Filio, a quibus procedit. Et in hac sancta Trinitate deitatis nichil prius nichil posterius nichilque inferius aut inaequale, sed totæ tres personae, ut dictum est, co-aeterne sibi sunt et quo aequales et consubstantiales atque inseparabiles. Sed quia omnipotens Deus ita invisibilis est ut a mortali creatura, id est, ab homine videri omnino, sicuti est, non possit, idcirco a mundi creatura quantulacumque comparatione ad Deum nobis adtrahere convenit apostolica auctoritate informati[1] qua dicit: Invisibilia enim ipsius mundi creatura que facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur,

14th, 16th, and 18th clauses of the Creed, which are passed over by the Commentary of Fortunatus, although it is clear that the writer must have had this latter before him, and, indeed, used it as the basis of his own work—a proof that at the time when he wrote they were part of the Creed.

[1] So the MS.

sempiterna quoque ejus virtus.[1] Solis, qui cum sit unus in natura, tres habere videtur efficientias; id est, sol, splendor, et calor. Tria quidam vocabula, sed res una est. Splendor quoque illuminat, calor vero exurit. Haec duo ita in sole naturaliter consistunt, ut unum absque alio, et utrumque sine tertio esse non possint; quia neque splendor sine calore, neque calor sine splendore, neque utrumque, id est, splendor et calor sine splendore[2] fieri possunt.[3] Quod etiam de natura ignis prudens contemplator colligere potest. Ita Pater et

[1] In this quotation from Rom. i. 20, the copyist has inadvertently omitted the preposition "a" before "mundi," and "per ea" before "que." Something, too, must have been omitted before "solis."

[2] Obviously for "sole;" the error being attributable, like the omissions just noticed, to the carelessness of the copyist.

[3] This illustration of the doctrine of the Trinity is evidently derived from the Commentary of Fortunatus, which has, according to the Milan and Paris copies, "sol, candor, calor; tria sunt vocabula, et tria unum." It is found also in the 'Rhythms' of St. EPHREM SYRUS: "Look at the sun in his height, which is thought to be one; descend, and look, and behold in his light a second; try, and feel, and search his heat, a third. They are like, and yet not like one to another. . . . Light also and the sun are individual subsistences; there are in them three kinds, mingled in a threefold way—himself, and also the light, and the heat the third, dwelling one in the other, and agreeing without grudging."—'Rhythm,' xl. sect. 1. Select works of St. EPHREM. Oxford translation, p. 232. Also in 'Rhythm,' lxxiii. sect. 1: "Lo, there is a similitude between the sun and the Father, the radiance and the Son, the heat and the Holy Ghost; and though it be one, a Trinity is beheld in it."—Ibid. p. 339. On the first of these passages, the learned translator and editor remarks in a note: "The use of the sun as furnishing by its light a type of the Father generating the Son is very frequent indeed in the Fathers. The use made of it here and R. lxxiii. sect. 1, is much less frequent; indeed, I am not able to furnish any other instance of a passage exactly parallel, as they speak rather of the Holy Spirit, as Light of Light, than as heat of light." The illustration being so rare, its appearance in these two Commentaries is one proof among many of the close connection between them.

Filius et Spiritus Sanctus tres proculdubio extant personae, sed individua majestate Deitatis et gloria aeternitatis. Fides autem catholica haec est, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jhesus Christus Dei Patris est Filius, Deus pariter et homo est;[1] Deus scilicet ex Patre sine initio, homo vero ex matre a certo initio, unus atque idem Filius Dei; aequalis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor vero Patri juxta humanitatem; co-aeternus Patri in Divinitatem, contemporalis vero matri erga humanitatem, consubstantialis matri in assumptam humanitatem; similis Patri per omnia secundum Divinitatem, dissimilis vero omni creaturae, consimilis autem nobis hominibus in humanitate, excelsior vero omni creaturae cæli ac terrae; unus atque idem Jhesus Christus Dominus ac redemptor noster. Cujus nominis aetinologia hęc est. Jhesus Ebreo sermone Latine salvator sive salutaris interpretatur; Christus autem Hebraice Messias vocatur, Greca vero lingua Christus dicitur, Latine vero unctus appellatur. Jhesus autem ideo nuncupatur pro eo quod ipse salvum facit populum suum. Christus autem secundum humanitatem ideo vocatur, quia Spiritu Sancto a Patre unctus est, sicut ex ipsius Christi persona Esaias Propheta ait: Spiritus Domini super me, propter quod unxit me; et in Psalmo Propheta ad ipsum Christum Dominum: Sedes tua, Deus, in saeculum saeculi; virga equitatis virga regni tui; dilexisti justitiam et odisti iniquitatem; propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo letitiae pre consortibus tuis. Unctus Deus, Filius Dei, a Patre et Spiritu Sancto, non in Divinitatis essentia, sed in humanitate assumpta.[2] Duas quippe in Christo credimus esse naturas, duasque formas, duasque

[1] This Commentary, it will be observed, like that of Fortunatus, passes over the 27th, 28th, and 29th verses of the Creed; the latter also passes over the 26th: "But the whole three Persons," etc.

[2] So St. HILARY. "Et cum Deus a Deo suo ungitur; id ungitur, quicquid ab eo in mysterio carnis servile susceptum est."—S. HILARII De Trinitate,' lib. xi. sect. 19.

nativitates, duas etiam voluntates atque operationes in singularitatem personae. De prima quippe nativitate ejus, quę secundum Divinitatem ex Patre est, David Propheta ex persona Patris ad Filium ait: Ex utero ante luciferum genui te. Ex utero inquit, hoc est, de mea substantia; ante luciferum, id est, ante omnem creaturam. De secunda vero generatione ejus, quę juxta humanitatem temporalis facta est, beatus Paulus Apostolus sua nos informans auctoritate, At ubi venit, inquit, plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium suum, factum ex muliere, factum sub lege, ut eos, qui sub lege erant, redimeret, ut adoptionem filiorum reciperemus. De prima generatione, quę secundum Deitatem est, Esaias Propheta clamat: Generationem ejus quis enarrabit? De generatione autem ejus, quę secundum carnem est, Mattheus Evangelista scripsit: Liber generationis Jhesu Christi, filii David, filii Abraam. De duabus vero voluntatibus in eo ipse sibi Dei Filius testis est, qui tempore passionis suae Patrem efflagitans ait: Pater, si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste; veruntamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu, Pater. Similiter et de duabus operationibus qui nosse cupit, ex evangelica predicatione plenius scire potest. Idcirco autem Dei Filius, qui verus Deus est ex Patre, verus homo dignatus est fieri ex matre,[1] ex anima rationabili et carne

[1] This seems to be an amplified form of the language of the Commentary of Fortunatus, as found in the Paris and Milan copies: "Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo, id est, *verus Deus*, et *verus homo*." It has been said that this terminology was not introduced till after the Adoptionist controversy, which may be assigned to the end of the eighth century. The untruth of the assertion might be abundantly proved; but it will be sufficient to quote two passages from so early a writer as St. HILARY of Poictiers: "Jesus Christus . . . homo ac Deus . . . habens in se et totum verumque quod homo est, et totum verumque quod Deus est."—'De Trin.' x. sect. 19. And "Nescit vitam suam, nescit, qui Christum Jesum ut verum Deum ita et verum hominem ignorat."—Ibid. ix. sect. 3.

consistentibus suis in singularitate personę, ut totum hominem ex anima rationabili et carne mortali subsistente,[1] qui in Adam peccando perierat, per suam passionem ac mortem de mortis potestate redimeret, et per resurrectionem suam aeternae vitae participem efficeret. Non sicut Apollinaris hereticus predicare ausus est, qui eundem Filium[2] animam non habuisse asseruit; hoc tamen rationabile existimans, quod Divinitas ei sufficeret pro ratione. Catholica vero fides eundem Dei Filium Dominum ac redemptorem nostrum, sicut verum Deum ex Patre, ut dictum est, ita et verum hominem ex matre animam habere rationabilem et carnem cum sensibus suis credit et confitetur. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non tamen duos Christos neque duas personas neque duos filios Dei in eum credere oportet, sed unum Christum unumque Dei Filium in duabas, ut dictum est, naturis; singularis vero persona[3] Sicut enim quilibet homo, ex anima rationabili et carne mortali subsistens, non duo, sed unus est homo, ita et Christus, et Deus et homo in unitatem personae, non duo sed unus est Christus; unus salvator mundi ac redemptor humani generis: aequalis Patri in forma Dei, minor vero ei in forma servi; creator matris suae et dominus secundum potentiam Divinitatis, creatus vero ex ipsa filius juxta humanitatem.[4] Nam simul ex ea Deus et homo absque ulla

[1] The mark of contraction over the final *e* has been evidently omitted by an oversight; with it the reading would have been "subsistentem."

[2] In the MS. a blank space has been left here. The sense seems to require "rationabilem."

[3] The passage seems almost borrowed from St. Augustine. "Non duo Christi sunt, nec duo filii Dei, sed una persona, unus Christus Dei filius idemque unus Christus."—St. AUGUSTINE, 'Serm.' ccxciv. sect. 9.

[4] The substance of this, indeed, the very language, is found in St. AUGUSTINE: "Erat ante carnem suam; ipse *creavit* matrem suam. Elegit, in qua conciperetur; *creavit* matrem suam. Elegit, in qua

corruptione gemina substantia, simplici autem persona, non conversione Divinitatis in carne, neque humanitatis in Divinitate: id est, neque Divinitas, quæ immutabilis est, in humanitatem conversa est, neque humanitas in Divinitatem.[1] Tenent igitur in eo in singularitate personae utrèque naturae absque ulla convertibilitate proprietates suas, Dei scilicet quod Dei est et hominis quod homo est. Sicut enim in essentiam Divinitatis unum sunt[2] cum Patre, ipso dicente: Ego et Pater unum sumus, ita in natura humanitatis unum est cum Ecclesia; quia idem Christus Dominus cum Ecclesia Catholica, quae est sponsa ejus et caput et corpus, unus est Christus, Apostolo hoc affirmante atque dicente: Propter hoc relinquet homo patrem et matrem et adherebit uxori suae, et erunt duo in carne una. Sacramentum hoc magnum est; ego autem dico in Christo et in Ecclesia. Hoc autem ideo Dominus fieri voluit, ne in Trinitate, quod absit, quaternitas intromittatur; quemadmodum Nestorius hereticus impie predicare ausus est, qui dixit beatam Mariam virginem non Deum et hominem genuisse,[3] in quo homine postea propter

conciperetur; *creavit*, de qua *crearetur*."—'Ser.' cxix. 6. "Sicut unus homo est anima rationalis et caro, sic et unus Christus est Verbum et homo. Proinde quod ad Verbum adtinet, Creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quod vero ad hominem, *creatus est* Christus. Factus enim ex semine David secundum carnem." —'De Præsentia Dei Lib.' seu epis. cxxxvii. 8. Again: "Filius hominis . . . nec sic assumptus est, ut prius creatus post assumeretur, sed ut ipsa assumptione *crearetur*."—'Coll. cum Maximino VIII.'

[1] Similarly, in the epistle of St. Cyril to Nestorius, as translated by Dionysius Exiguus, we find: "Nec carnem dicimus in naturam Deitatis esse conversam, nec in substantiam carnis ineffabilem Dei Verbi essentiam commutatam."—ROUTH, 'Scrip. Eccles. Opuscula,' tom. ii. p. 38. See also St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' i. 14.

[2] So the MS.; clearly for "est."

[3] "*Sed* hominem," no doubt, should have been written. "Nestorius

meritum sanctitatis Divinitatem Filii Dei habitasse, sicut et in ceteris sanctis. Ac per hoc, non unam, sed duas in Christo asserunt esse personas, et introduxit in Trinitatem quaternitatem: cujus impia professio procul absit a cordibus fidelium.[1] Nos autem credere oportet saepedictum Dei Filium secundum Divinitatem invisibiliter in utero virginis Mariae introisse, et veram carnem ex substantia ejusdem virginis Mariae, quam cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto creavit, quasi quoddam vestimentum[2] in singularitate personae suae ita unisse, ut nec Deus sine homine nec homo absque Deo fieri omnino[3] potuisset; et ita in utraque natura et una persona incorruptibiliter ex ea natum. Et idcirco jam dictam virginem Mariam non hominis tamtum, sed Dei et hominis, genitricem credimus et confitemur; quia Dei Filius, non personam hominis, sed naturam ex ea assumpsit humanitatis; quia nequaquam conceptio carnis in virginis utero Divinitatis praevenit adventu,[4] sed Divinitas praevenit virginis conceptum; quam humanam naturam tota Trinitas in utero virginis creavit, sed solus Filius in singularitate personę suae suscepit atque univit. Idcirco autem Dei Filius naturam humani generis, id est, perfectum hominem absque peccato de virgine suscipere dignatus est, ut per eandem naturam, quae in paradiso a diabolo decepta mortem incurrerat; rursum eundem diabolum, non potentia Divinitatis, sed ratione justitiae

beatam Mariam virginem non Dei, *sed* hominis tantummodo credidit genitricem."—St. LEO, 'Ad Leonem Augustum.'

[1] Fortunatus's Commentary has: "Ne propter adsumptionem humanæ carnis dicatur esse quaternitas, quod absit a fidelium cordibus vel sensibus dici aut cogitari."

[2] So St. GREGORY in Ezekiel, lib. ii.; 'Hom.' i. 9: "Quid enim *vestimentum* ejus, nisi corpus quod assumsit ex Virgine?"

[3] "Omnino" is written in small letters above the line.

[4] Thus the MS.; the mark of abbreviation over the *u* has probably been omitted through inadvertence.

vinceret et prostraret, et per indebitam mortem suam debitam mortem nostram evacuaret, et credentibus sibi perpetuam vitam condonaret; quatinus et diabolus per justitiam victus cederet, et, quos injuste retinebat, amitteret, et humanum genus, non merito suo, seu libero arbitrio, sed sola gratia misericordiae salvaretur. Et ideo ob redemptionem humani generis, ut dictum est, Divinitatis suae potentia passus est, in carne mortuus, et sepultus est in eadem carne. Secundum animam descendit ad infernum. Secundum virtutem Divinitatis suae die tertia in eadem carne, in qua mortuus fuerat, vivus resurrexit. Post resurrectionem vero suam per dies XL. multis modis discipulis suis se vivum exhibuit, atque ad palpandum prebuit, et ad confirmandam eorum fidem, et hereticorum destruendam perfidiam, qui eum negant veram carnem in caelo levasse,[1] cibum petiit, et coram eis comedit: quadragesimo vero die post resurrectionem suam, videntibus apostolis suis, ascendit in caelum, et sedet ad dexteram Patris, id est, regnat in gloriam et beatitudinem sempiternam. Quem inde venturum ad faciendum judicium vivorum et mortuorum in ipso mundi termino sustinemus in eadem forma humanitatis et vera carne, in qua ascendit, sed glorificata, non infirma aut despecta, sicut in primo adventu, cum venit occultus, ut judicaretur, sed, ut dictum est, in gloriam Patris et suam, non ut judicetur, sed judicet et reddat unicuique secundum opus suum. De cujus adventu secundo in libro apocalypsin scriptum est: Ecce veniet cum nubibus caeli, et videbit eum omnis oculus, et qui illum

[1] The Apellitæ taught that Christ left His body dissolved in the air, and so ascended into heaven without it: "Hunc Apellem dicunt quidem etiam de Christo tam falsa sensisse, ut diceret eum non quidam carnem duxisse de cælo, sed ex elementis mundi accepisse, quæ mundo reddidit, cum sine carne resurgens in cælum ascendit."—St. AUGUSTINE, 'Hæres.' 23. See PEARSON on the Creed, note on the article, "He ascended into heaven!"

pupugerunt; ipse quisque in evangelio de suo adventu ait: Cum venerit filius hominis in majestate sua, et omnes angeli cum eo; et iterum ipse: Verum tamen filius hominis veniet,[1] putas, inveniet fidem in terra? In cujus adventu ad angelicam tubam omnes defuncti a primo homine Adam usque ad ultimum, qui in fine mundi obiturus erit, tam pii, quam impii, tam justi, quam etiam injusti secundum apostolicam auctoritatem in ictu oculi in eadem carne, in qua vixerunt, et in qua bona vel mala gesserunt, et in qua mortui sunt, resurgere habent, non naturam aut sexum mutantes, id est, neque vir in sexum femineum, neque mulier in virili forma, sed unusquisque, ut dictum est, in propria forma atque sexu, in qua vixit et mortuus fuit, resurrecturus erit, ut in eadem carne, in qua bona vel mala gesserunt, recipiat unusquisque quod meretur.[2] Illud tamen

[1] Clearly an error for "veniens," the scribe probably being misled by "inveniet," immediately after. In the MS. the corrector has inserted *ns* after "veniet."

[2] The doctrine here maintained respecting the continuance in the future life of the distinction of the sexes had been clearly asserted by St. Jerome: "Ego libere dicam et . . . fidem Ecclesiæ apertissime confitebor. Resurrectionis veritas sine carne et ossibus, sine sanguine et membris, intelligi non potest. Ubi caro et ossa et sanguis et membra sunt, ibi necesse est ut sexus diversus sit. Ubi sexus diversus est, ibi Joannes, Joannes, Maria, Maria. Noli timere eorum nuptias, qui etiam ante mortem in sexu suo sine sexus opere vixerunt." Again, "Angelorum nobis similitudo promittitur, id est, beatitudo illa, in qua sine carne et sexu sunt angeli, nobis in carne et sexu nostro donabitur."—S. Hieronymi 'Liber con. Joannem Hierosolymitanum,' cap. xxxi. Migne, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xxiiii. p. 383. Of the eight errors of Origen against which this book of St. Jerome's was directed, the fifth was: "Quod carnis resurrectionem membrorumque compagem et sexum, quo viri dividimur a feminis, apertissime neget." He affirmed that the Origenist tenet was inconsistent with the terms of the Creed, "carnis resurrectionem," heretics admitting a resurrection of the body, but not of the flesh. "In symbolo fidei et spei nostræ, quod ab Apostolis traditum, non scribitur in charta et atramento, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus; post confes-

nobis credendum est, quod tam justi, quam et[1] peccatores incorrupta recipiant corpora sua. Hoc est, quod ultra mori non poterunt, apostolo hoc affirmante atque dicente: Omnes quidem resurgemus, sed non omnes inmutabimur, in momento, in ictu oculi, in novissima tuba. Canet enim tuba, et mortui resurgent incorrupti, et nos inmutamur.[2] Ideo tam electi, quam reprobi, incorrupta recipient corpora, quatinus et justi in eadem carne, in qua propter Deum in hac vita poenas seu ceteros labores sustinuerunt, in ipsa recipiant a Domino aeternam beatitudinem et perpetuam gloriam. In quibus erit aeterna vita una remuneratio, sed pro diversitate meritorum dissimilis gloria. Similiter et omnes reprobi, impii videlicet et peccatores, in propria corpora sua, in qua[3] prave seu luxuriose vixerunt, recepturi sunt aeternam dampnationem, in quibus tamen pro qualitate vel quantitate peccatorum dissimilis erit poena, sed una dampnatio sempiterna. Hoc quippe judicium Deus Pater omnipotens per Filium suum in hominem assumptum facturus est, sicut ipse Filius in evangelio de semet ipso testatur dicens: Pater non judicat quemquam, sed omne judicium dedit Filio. Non tamen ita accipiendum est, ut Filius absque Patre et Spiritu Sancto, a quibus

sionem Triuitatis et unitatem Ecclesiæ omne Christiani dogmatis sacramentum carnis resurrectione concluditur."—Ibid. cap. xxviii. The statement of the Athanasian Creed—"Omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis"—is clearly not a mere general enunciation of the doctrine of the Resurrection; it is a distinct assertion of the identity of the risen body in each individual. In this respect it is very valuable; but the force of the original is lost in our translation —"with *their* bodies," instead of "with their own bodies."

[1] The corrector appears to have inserted the letter *m* with the mark of abbreviation, after "et," with the intention of altering it into "etiam."

[2] The corrector has made a mark over the *a* in "inmutamur," evidently because he thought it an error for "inmutabimur."

[3] So the MS.

omnino dividi non potest, solus judicet ; sed ideo ita dictum credimus, quia Pater invisibilis est, et a nullo hominum videri potest. Et ideo solus Filius, ut dictum est, judicabit, quia ipse solus formam servi accepit, in qua visibiliter vivos et mortuos judicaturus est. Invisibiliter vero tota Trinitas judicabit; visibiliter autem, ut dictum est, solus Filius in forma servi juste judicabit, qui ob redemptionem humani generis solus in carne assumpta injuste ab impiis judicatus est. In cujus judicio electi duabus in partibus discreti erunt, id est, perfectis, quibus dictum est: Sedebitis super duodecim sedes judicantes XII. tribus Israel. Quod enim apostolis tunc promissum est, ad omnes perfectos pertinet, qui cum Domino ceteros judicabunt. Secundus vero ordo erit in illis, qui ad superiorem, hoc est, apostolorum et martyrum se[1] perfectorum mensuram pervenire non potuerunt, et tamen per satisfactionem poenitentię, per elemosynarum largitionem, per compassionem sanctorum, et cetera justitiae opera vitam consecuturi sunt aeternam. Talibus enim convenit illa Domini sententia, qua ait: Facite vobis amicos de iniquo mamona, ut, cum defeceritis, recipiant vos in eterna tabernacula; et illud: Qui vos recipit, me recipit.[2] Reprobi vero similiter duabus distincti erunt in partibus, impiis videlicet et peccatoribus. Impii appellantur omnes infideles, qui Dominum non noverunt, de quibus psalmista ait: Non resurgunt impio in judicio.[3] Resurgent utique,

[1] So the MS.; but a small *u* has been inserted by the corrector over "se."

[2] There is nothing in this passage inconsistent with the hypothesis that the Commentary was the work of the seventh century. It follows SS. Augustine and Ambrose in its interpretation of our Lord's words. See especially St. Augustine, 'De Civ. Dei,' lib. xxi. sect. 28, 5. Also St. Ambrose on St. Luk. xvi. 9; and the 'Catena Aurea' of Thomas Aquinas, on St. Luke, cap. xvi.

[3] So the MS. The Vulgate has "Non resurgent impii in judicio."—Ps. i.

non ut judicentur, sed ut punientur;[1] quoniam secundum apostolicam auctoritatem quicunque sine lege peccaverunt, sine lege et peribunt. De talibus veritas in evangelio ait: Qui non credit, jam judicatus est; hoc est, jam dampnatus est. Peccatores vero vocantur, qui intra Ecclesiam per fidem commorantur, sed prave vivunt. De talibus rursum psalmista ait: Neque peccatores in consilio justorum; de quibus et Paulus: Confitetur[2] se nosse Deum, factis autem negant, cum sint abbominati, et incredibiles, et ad omne opus bonum reprobi; quos et Dominus per evangelium increpat dicens: Quid prodest qui dicitis michi, Domine, Domine, et non facitis quae dico. Sicut enim fides, quam se mali Christiani habere gloriantur, absque bonis operibus eos salvare non potest, ita bonum opus quodcunque infideles agunt, sine fide nichil illis prodest, apostolo hoc affirmante, qui ait: Omne, quod non est ex fide, peccatum est.[3] Et ideo solos illos credimus posse salvos fieri, qui

[1] So the MS. [2] So the MS.

[3] This classification of "impii" and "peccatores" is found in Bruno's exposition of the Psalms, in a passage borrowed almost entirely from Cassiodorus: "Impii sunt, qui sanctam Trinitatem nullatemus confitentur. 'Resurgunt impii, sed non in judicio,' quia jam judicati sunt. Justus surgit, ut judicet; peccator, ut judicetur; impius ut sine judicio puniatur. Peccatores sunt Christiani, sed peccatis obnoxii, qui ideo non resurgunt in consilio justorum, id est, in judicio justorum, quia jam illis, scilicet justis, per gratiam confessionis peccata dimissa sunt."—BRUNONIS 'Expos. Psalm.' i. 6. MIGNE, 'Patrol.' tom. cxlii. p. 51. It appears at an earlier period, in Bede: "Et congregabuntur ante eum omnes gentes et reliqua. Duo sunt itaque ordines hominum in judicio collectorum, qui tamen in quatuor dividuntur. Perfectorum ordines duo sunt: unus, qui cum Domino judicabit, et non judicantur, de quibus Dominus ait: Sedebitis et vos super sedes duodecim; alius, quibus dicetur: Esurivi, et dedistis mihi manducare, hi judicabuntur et regnabunt. Item reproborum ordines duo sunt: unus eorum, qui extra Ecclesiam inveniendi sunt, hi non judicabuntur et peribunt, de quibus Psalmista ait: Non resurgunt impii in judicio. Aliter quoque reproborum est eorum, qui judica-

et fidem rectam absque ullo discrimine retinent, et bonis operibus, in quantum possunt, laborare non desinunt, vitantes scilicet capitalia atque mortifera crimina, sicut ait psalmista: Declina a malo et fac bonum; et alibi: Quiescite agere perverse, discite bene facere.[1] Quod autem dicimus de Christo Domino: Inde venturus vivos ac mortuos,[2] vivos intellegimus, quos dies judicii vivos invenerit, mortuos autem omnes, qui antea obierunt, et tunc resurrecturi erunt; vel certe, ut quidam volunt, sicut per viventes electi, ita per mortuos reprobi omnes accipiendi sunt.[3] Post futurum vero judicium, et justorum

buntur et peribunt, quibus dicitur: Esurivi, et non dedistis mihi manducare."—BEDÆ 'Expositio in Matthæi Evangelium,' cap. xxv. MIGNE, 'Patrol.' tom. xcii. p. 109. It will be observed that this passage, like the Commentary, divides the elect, as well as the reprobate, into two classes; and it was Bede's declared principle to follow the interpretations of the Fathers. St. Ambrose gives a similar description of "peccatores" and "impii:" "Ergo impii non resurgunt in judicio, hoc est, in portionem eorum, qui judicium subituri sunt, nec peccatores resurgunt in consilio justorum. Vides, quia surgunt impii, et non surgent in judicio justorum, quia peccatores, etsi non resurgent in consilio justorum, resurgent tamen in judicio. Unde videntur, qui bene crediderunt, et fidem suam etiam operibus executi sunt, ipsi non judicari, sed surgere in consilio justorum. Peccatores autem, qui non possunt inter justos surgere, surgent in judicio. Habes duos ordines. Tertius superest impiorum, qui quoniam non crediderunt, jam judicati sunt, et ideo non resurgent in judicio, sed ad pœnam."—St. AMBROS. 'Enarratio in Psalmum,' i.

[1] The words of Isaiah (i. 16, 17) seem to be here attributed to the Psalmist; but possibly it may be a mere clerical error; the copyist may have omitted, after "alibi," the words "scriptum est."

[2] So the MS. originally, but the corrector has written "judicare" above "vivos." Obviously it had been omitted inadvertently by the original hand.

[3] These two alternative interpretations of "vivi" and "mortui" are also given by Fortunatus's Commentary. The correspondence seems to indicate that the writer still had the earlier exposition before him in the latter portion of his Commentary, relating to the

remunerationem, atque iniquorum dampnationem, quicquid in utrisque divina sententia decreverit, id est, in electis ac reprobis, aeternum et sine fine erit: nec mali ultra gaudia sperabunt, nec boni tristitiam formidabunt. Quoniam, sicut electi perpetua letitia fruentes ad reproborum dampnationem, ut quidam heretici voluerunt, in aeternum reversuri non erunt, ita et reprobi in perpetua[1] demersi ad electorum gaudia nequaquam ultra consurgent, ipso judice teste, qui ait: Et ibunt hi, id est, impii et peccatores, in supplicium aeternum, justi autem in vitam aeternam. Haec est fides catholica, quam universalis Ecclesia in electis suis corde credit, ore profitetur, et bonis operibus exequitur. De qua fide quicunque ex his, qui Christiano nomine censentur, quicquam detraxerit aut credere noluerit, proculdubio catholicus non erit, sed intra Ecclesiam positus sub nomine Christianitatis recte catholicus, ut hereticus, deputabitur.

B.

Copy of the second Commentary on the Athanasian Creed contained in Troyes, 804, and immediately following the foregoing one. It is preceded by the title, "Item alia expositio." The collations of the copy of this Commentary, edited by Mai,[2] from a manuscript in the Vatican, are added in the notes. The title which he applies to it, "Symboli Athanasiani explanatio," it appears from the account of Arevalus, is not to be found in the MS.:—

Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut

Incarnation, although he ceases to follow it closely, as in the former part concerning the Trinity. A similar indication may be found in the allusion to Nestorianism, as inconsistent with the doctrine of the Trinity, and introducing a quaternity of Persons.

[1] A word must be here omitted, probably "tristitia."

[2] 'Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio,' tom. ix. p. 396.

teneat catholicam fidem, quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in aeternum peribit. Quod dicitur in capite horum versum, hoc repetitur in fine. Nam hoc est in aeternum perire, quod salvum non esse; et hoc est salvum esse, quod non perire. Sed quid est quod integram et inviolatam servandam admonet fidem, nisi quia nichil de illa est auferendum, nichil mutandum, sicut in fine libri apocalipsis terribiliter contestatum est. Demunt namque et violant, id est, minuunt et corrumpunt sacramenta fidei heretici et scismatici; et idcirco eicit[1] illos foras ecclesiam[2] et excludit a se, ut ipsa sine macula inveniatur et ruga. Sicut enim Deus veritas[3] est, ita ea, quę apostolica ecclesia de Deo docuit, vera sunt. Si aliquid horum depinxeris[4] aut mutaris, intrat putredo de veneno serpentis, nascitur vermis mendaciorum, et nichil integrum remanebit, quia ubi fuerit corruptio falsitatis, non ibi erit integritatis[5] veritatis.[6] Oportunum mamque michi videtur paucis admonendum, quam illa sit fides quę salvat, quę in aeternum[7] perire non sinit; nempe non est illa, qua demones credunt, et contremescunt, non tamen diligunt

[1] For "ejicit."

[2] In the corresponding passage, Troyes, 1979 and 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, have "ecclesia."

[3] Mai reads "veracitas."

[4] Mai, "depresseris." Troyes, 1979, in the corresponding passage, has "detraxeris." Probably the right reading is "dempseris."

[5] The corrector has placed two dots under *ti*. Mai reads "integritas."

[6] This sentence, from "Si aliquid" to "veritatis," is found almost word for word in PROSPERI 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino," which is printed in the appendix to St. Augustine's works. It is the 326th of those "sententiæ." The whole of it was originally drawn in substance from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Tract. in Johan. Evan.' viii. n. 5, part literally—from "intrat" to "remanebit." The compiler of the Commentary must have drawn directly from Prosper, who flourished in the early half of the fifth century. Some of these sentences are incorporated in the Canons of the Second Council of Orange, held A.D. 529.

[7] Mai reads "quae illa sit fides, quae in aeternum."

aut sperant quod credunt, sed illa potius est, quę per dilectionem operatur, illa videlicet dilectione,[1] de qua Dominus ait: Qui diligit me, sermones meos servat. Quam dilectionem quisquis adeptus fuerit, sentit procul dubio quantum et quale bonum sit Deus. Quod etiam evidenter ex hoc ostenditur, quia nulli ab eo recedenti bene est.[2] A quo enim habet homo ut sit, ab eo habet ut bene sit.[3] Et hoc est bonum hominis, ut summi et incommutabilis boni[4] adhereat naturae; quod si noluerit, bono se privat illo, cujus participatione esse ipse poterat. Bonum sit, malum est ei;[5] propter quod etiam per justitiam Dei cruciatus consequitur. Quid enim tam iniquum, quam ut bene sit ei, qui voluntarie deserit summum bonum? Sed hoc malum, quod fit deserendum[6] summum bonum. Idcirco autem[7] plerique non sentiunt, quia inferius amant temporale bonum; sed divina justitia est, ut, qui voluntate deserit Deum, cum dolore amittat, quod

[1] The mark of contraction over the final letters of "illa" and "dilectione" has probably been omitted through inadvertence; Mai, however, reads "dilectio."

[2] This is evidently from PROSPER'S 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino," 289: "Quantum et quale bonum sit Deus, etiam ex hoc evidenter ostenditur, quod nulli ab eo recedenti bene est." The passage of St. AUGUSTINE, from which Prosper drew, appears to be the following:—"Hinc etiam maxime commendatur, quale bonum sit Deus, quando nulli ab eo recedenti bene est."—'De Gen. ad Lit.' lib. xi. cap. 5. That the book of Prosper was the immediate source from which this passage of the Commentary was drawn, is obvious from its closer correspondence with the text.

[3] This sentence is also founded on St. AUGUSTINE: "Qui gloriatur, nonnisi in Domino gloriatur, cum cognoscit non suum, sed illius esse, non solum ut sit, verum etiam ut non nisi ab illo bene sibi sit, a quo habet ut sit."—'De Gen. ad Lit.' lib. xi. cap. 8.

[4] Mai has "summae et incommutabiliter bonae."

[5] The passage is evidently corrupt. Mai reads "poterat bonus, et magnum malum est ei bonum non esse."

[6] Mai, "deserendo."

[7] Mai omits "autem."

amat[1] preter eum, et ab hoc dolore fides non liberet eum. Fides namque alio nomine dicitur credulitas; nam apud Grecos fides et credulitas uno dicitur nomine. Catholica Grecum nomen est; interpretatur autem latino eloquio universalis, quia toto mundo diffusa ecclesia est,[2] et toto tempore hanc tenet fidem et tenuit, neque unquam aut tempore mutata est aut locis variata. Nam hereticorum fides non potest dici catolica, quia non est publica, sed privata; nec ubique tenetur, nec semper fuisse monstratur. Sequitur. Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur. Unitas in Deitate, trinitas est[3] in personis. Veneremur ergo unitatem Deitatis in trinitate personarum, veneremur trinitatem personarum in unitate Deitatis. In qua trinitatem[4] substantiae unitas, ut aequalitatem teneat, pluralitatem non recipiat,[5] tantum[6] personarum distinctio, ut

[1] This passage, from "Et hoc est bonum hominis" to "amittat, quod amat," is evidently drawn from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Genesi ad Litteram,' lib. viii. cap. 14: "Bonum incommutabile est Deus. . . . Ideo quippe et hæc magni boni natura est, quia et hoc accepit, ut possit summi boni adhærere naturæ. Quod si noluerit, bono se privat, et hoc ei malum est, unde per justitiam Dei etiam cruciatus consequitur. Quid enim tam iniquum, quam ut bene sit desertori boni? Neque ullo modo fieri potest, ut ita sit: sed aliquando amissi superioris boni non sentitur malum, cum habetur quod amatum est inferius bonum. Sed divina justitia est, ut qui voluntate amisit quod amare debuit, amittat cum dolore quod amavit." The passage of St. Augustine also appears in PROSPER'S 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino,' 287.

[2] Mai omits "est."

[3] Mai omits "est."

[4] Mai reads "trinitate tanta est."

[5] From "In trinitate" to "recipiat" seems to be from PROSPER'S 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino,' 227. It has been slightly altered from the original passage in St. AUGUSTINE, 'Enar. in Psal.' lxviii. ser. i. n. 3: "Tanta est substantiæ societas, ut æqualitatem admittat, pluralitatem non admittat." Here, therefore, the commentator appears to have drawn immediately from Prosper.

[6] So the MS.; but in the corresponding passage in Troyes, 1979, we have "tanta."

unione non permisceatur.[1] Tres personae unius sunt essentię, sive naturę, unius virtutis, unius operationis, unius beatitudinis, atque unius potestatis, ut trina sit unitas, et una sit trinitas. Ita ut unusquisque eorum verus perfectusque sit Deus, videlicet ex plenitudine Divinitatis nichil minus in singulis, nichil amplius ut[2] intellegatur in tribus.[3] Nec hujus trinitatis tertia pars est unus, nec major pars duo quam unus.[4] Ita tota Deitas sui perfectione aequalis est, ut exceptis vocabulis, quę proprietatem indicant personarum, quicquid de una persona dixeris, de tribus dignissime possit intellegi;[5] et non majus sit in tribus quam in singulis, nec minus in singulis quam in tribus.[6] Vel[7] si de tribus hominibus dicas quod sint inmortales, ego non intellego plus posse vivere simul tres quam singulos, nec minus singulos quam totos tres, quoniam trium una est inmortalitas. Aut si aequaliter sint sapientes, non plus sapiunt simul quam singuli; sed tanta est in unoquoque sapientia, quanta in tribus.[8] Si haec ergo in creatura invenitur,[9] ubi non est una anima aut unum cor, nisi[10] per dilectionem et fidem, quanto magis in creatore, in Patre scilicet et Filio et Spiritu Sancto, cui[11] est aeterna et incommutabilis unitas, qui est in-

[1] Mai reads "pernisceantur." [2] Mai omits "ut."

[3] This passage, from "Tres personae" to "in tribus," appears in the Epistle of Pelagius I. to King Childebert. See MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. cv. p. 141.

[4] From "Nec" to "unus" is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Con. Maximinum,' lib. ii. cap. x. sect. 2.

[5] From "tota Deitas" to "intellegi" appears also in the Creed of St. Jerome, so called.

[6] From "non" to "tribus" is, in substance, from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ep.' clxx. 5.

[7] Mai reads "velut."

[8] These illustrations are from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ep.' clxxxvii. cap. iv. [9] Mai reads "inveniuntur."

[10] Mai adds "forte." [11] Mai reads "qui."

differens trinitas, unus Deus,[1] unum lumen, unumque principium.[2] Sequitur. Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes. Sicut enim confutantes Arrium unam eandemque dicimus trinitatis esse substantiam, et unum in tribus personis fatemur Deum, ita impietatem Sabellii declinantes tres personas sub proprietatem[3] distinguimus. Sabellius, qui[4] intellexit unam esse trinitatis substantiam, ideo confundens personas, ipsum sibi Patrem, ipsum sibi Filium, ipsum[5] Spiritum Sanctum, esse dicebat. Nos tamen non nomina tantum, sed etiam nominum proprietates idem[6] confitemur. Nec Pater Filii aut Spiritus Sancti personam aliquando excludit;[7] nec rursus Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus Patris nomen personamque recipit: sed Pater semper Pater, Filius semper Filius, Spiritus Sanctus semper Spiritus Sanctus. Arrius vero, quia cognovit tres personas, idcirco et tres asseruit divinas substantias. Sed nos confitemur, quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus substantia unum sunt, personis ac nominibus distinguntur.[8] Sequitur. Alia est enim persona

[1] Mai omits "Deus."

[2] From "indifferens" to "principium" is in PROSPERI 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino,' 350, ex 'Tract. 39 in Johannem,' n. 5. It is in substance from St. Augustine.

[3] Mai reads "proprietate."

[4] Mai reads "quia."

[5] "Sibi" is added by Mai.

[6] *o* has been written above *m* in "idem" by the corrector, and a line drawn under it. Mai gives the right reading, no doubt: "proprietates id est personas," which is found also in the Bouhier Commentary. This is one of the errors which show that the scribe copied from an earlier codex. Probably the text from which he copied omitted "personas," and read "id ē;" and, owing to the omission of "personas," he misunderstood the contraction.

[7] Mai reads "excludit aliquando."

[8] Nearly the whole of this passage, from "confutantes Arrium" down to "nominibus distinguntur," appears in the confession of Faith known as the Creed of St. Jerome.

Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, et co-aeterna majestas. Aequalis gloria, quia non est major in gloria Pater, quam Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus. Non minorém[1] gloria Spiritus Sancti quam Patris aut Filii. Co-aeterna majestas: quia non est anterior Pater Filio aut Spiritu Sancto, non est posterior Spiritus Sanctus Patre aut Filio. Sciendum tamen est, quia personas dicere necessitas fecit disputationis contra hereticos: nam in scripturis divinis dictum non invenitur. Doctores tamen licenter hoc assumpserunt; non quia scriptura dicit, sed quia scriptura non contradicit.[2] Nam cum dixeris, tres sunt, et mox interrogatus fueris, qui[3] sunt tres, nichil omnino respondendum restat, nisi personę. Nam aliud quid respondeas, nichil habebis; quia non potest dicere, tres dii, aut tres substantię, aut aliquid hujusmodi, quod absit. Dicta autem persona, quasi per se una, eo quod per se sit. Dicitur etiam substantia,[4] eo quod per se subsistat. Nam quod nos dicimus personas, Greci dicunt ipotasis,[5] quod interpretatur in Latino subsistentias: et quod apud nos dicitur substantia, apud illos dicitur USIA.[6] Et quidem in Latina lingua quasi unum videtur esse substantia et subsistentia. In Alexandrino tamen concilio, ubi hoc primum tractatum fuit, ita definitum est, ut substantia ipsam

[1] The final *m* has been underscored by the corrector. Mai reads "minor est." The cause of the error was evidently the same here as in the last instance. The text from which the scribe copied probably had "minor ē." He understood the mark of contraction to signify the omission of the final *m*; but "ē" is a very common form of abbreviation for "est."

[2] This must have been founded upon St. Augustine, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 4. "Propterea *licuit* loquendi et disputandi necessitate tres personas dicere, *non quia Scriptura dicit, sed quia Scriptura non contradicit.*"

[3] Mai reads "quid."

[4] Mai reads "subsistentia."

[5] Mai reads "ὑποστάσεις."

[6] Mai, "οὐσία."

rei alicujus naturam rationemque, qua constat, designet, subsistentia autem uniuscujusque personę hoc ipsum, quod extat et subsistit, ostendat. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti; quia alius est in persona Pater, alius in persona Filius, alius in persona Spiritus Sanctus; non est aluis in Deitate, non est alius in gloria. Alius est Pater, et alius Filius, quia non est ipse Pater, qui Filius; non est tamen aliud Pater et aliud Filius, quia hoc est Pater, qui[1] Filius. Adtendendum quoque diligenter, quod dicitur: non est ipse Pater, qui Filius, sed ipsum est Pater, qui[2] Filius.[3] Pater enim genitor est, non genitus; Filius genitus est, non genitor; Spiritus Sanctus non est genitor, quia non est Pater, non est genitus, quia non est Filius, sed procedens est, quia Spiritus. Hoc est tamen Filius, quod Pater, quia Deus, quia creator, quia omnipotens, et cetera nomina, quae substantialia sunt, non personalia, totius trinitatis aequalia sunt. Sciendum quoque summopere est, quod Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus inseparabiles sunt etiam in personis, quia sicut ubique est Pater, ita ubique Filius et Spiritus Sanctus; neque alium locum occupat Pater, alium Filius, alium Spiritus Sanctus. Non enim mundum inter se in tres partes diviserunt, quas singulas singuli implerent, quasi non haberent, ubi essent[4] Filius aut[5] Spiritus Sanctus in mundo, si totum occupasset Pater. Non ita se habet vera, incorporea, inmutabilisque Divinitas. Non enim corpora sunt, quorum amplius[6] sit in tribus, quam in singulis,

[1] Mai, rightly, "quod."

[2] A dot has been made under the letter *i*, and *od* written above it, by the corrector.

[3] The reference may be to St. AUGUSTINE, in 'Johan. Evan. Tract.' xxxvi. 9.

[4] In St. Augustine, "haberet ubi esset" is the reading.

[5] Mai reads "et."

[6] Mai reads "amplior." So also it is in St. Augustine.

magnitudo. Nec loca suis molibus tenent ut distantibus spatiis simul esse non possint. Si enim anima in corpore constituta, non solum nullas angustias sentit, verum etiam quandam latitudinem invenit non corporalium[1] locorum sed spiritalium gaudiorum, cum sit quod ait Apostolus: nescitis, quoniam corpora vestra templum in vobis Spiritus Sancti est, quem habetis in Deum?[2] nec dici nisi[3] stultissime potest non habere locum in nostro corpore Spiritum Sanctum, eo quod totum nostra anima impleverit: quanto stultius dicitur ullis angustiis alicubi imperari[4] trinitatem, ut Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus ubique simul esse non possint.[5] Inseparabile est etiam opus trinitatis; quia quelibet persona, sicut sine aliis personis esse non potest, ita sine aliis non operatur, et nichil seorsum agit inseparabilis caritas.[6] Sequitur. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus. Sciendum est omnino, quod qualitas de Deo proprie non dicitur. Nam de illis decem speciebus categoriarum haec[7] sunt, quibus caret Deus, id est, qualitatem, quantitatem, situm, habitum, locum, tempus, et passionem;[8] non tamen caret substantiam aut relationem,[9]

[1] Mai reads "incorporalium."

[2] Mai reads, as do the Vulgate and St. Augustine, "a Deo."

[3] Mai reads "dicimus si."

[4] Mai reads "impediri." So also St. Augustine.

[5] The whole of this passage, from "Non enim mundum inter se" to "esse non possint," is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Præsentia Dei,' epis. clxxxvii. cap. iv. 15.

[6] This is in substance from St. AUGUSTINE, 'in Johan. Tract.' v. 1, and xx. 3.

[7] Mai reads "hae."

[8] Mai reads "qualitate, quantitate, situ, habitu, loco, tempore, et passione." It is to be presumed that he found these readings in his MS., as he says nothing to the contrary. But the Troyes MS. probably is right, the accusative case being frequently used for the ablative, in the age which produced this Commentary. I have drawn attention to the occurrence of this barbarism in the previous Commentary.

[9] Mai reads "substantia aut relatione."

quia et Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus relativa sunt nomina unius substantię. Itaque absque illis speciebus intelligamus[1] Deum, quantum possumus, sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui mutatione mutabilia facientem, nichilque patientem.[2] Unam autem de his speciebus id est actionem, ideo pretermisi, quia actio creatoris longe dissimilis est ab actu creaturę. Nam creatura sine motu et labore nichil potest agere, actio vero creatoris sine motu et labore sola fit ei voluntate. Hoc tamen quod dicitur: qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus, propter necessitatem contra hereticos usurpatum est, quia similem[3] Deo Patri Filium asserebant, dissimilemque Spiritum Sanctum. Nos tamen dinoscamus, quid sit in creatura substantię qualitas, quid in creatore sine qualitate substantia. Proinde si de Deo dicamus, aeternus, inmortalis, incorruptibilis, inmutabilis, unius,[4] sapiens, et speciosus, justus, bonus, beatus, spiritus. Horum omnium quod novissimum posui, id est spiritus, quasi tantum modo videtur significare substantiam, cetera vero qualitates substantię ejus. Sed non ita est in illa ineffabili simplicique natura; quicquid enim secundum qualitatem illam[5] dici videtur, secundum substantiam vel essentiam est intellegendum. Absit enim ut spiritus secundum substantiam dicatur Deus, et bonus secundum

[1] Mai inserts "nos."

[2] From "intelligamus Deum" to "patientem" is in St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. v. cap. 1.

[3] Mai reads "dissimilem."

[4] A dot has been placed under the *i* by the corrector, signifying that "unus" ought to have been written, but "vivus" is no doubt the right reading. This appears in Mai, and in St. Augustine in the passage here borrowed from.

[5] Mai reads "illic;" and so it is in St. Augustine.

qualitatem, sed utrumque[1] substantiam[2] sicut secundum substantiam sapientia dicitur Deus. Sequitur. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus[3] Spiritus Sanctus. Nichil in trinitate creatum, quia tota trinitas unus est creator. Omnis itaque substantia, quę Deus non est, creatura est; et quę creatura est, non.[4] Nulla igitur differentia est in Deitate trinitatis; quoniam, quod de[5] Deo minus est, Deus non est.[6] Sequitur. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus[7] Spiritus Sanctus. Inmensus est Deus trinitatis,[8] quia nulla ratione, nulla estimatione metiri valet. Mundo non capitur; sic replet mundum, ut ipsum[9] contineat mundum, non ut[10] contineatur a mundo. Est enim mundo superior, inferior, exterior, et interior: regendo superior, portando inferior, circumdando exterior, replendo interior. Sic est per cuncta diffusus, ut non sit

[1] "Secundum" has been written above by the corrector; it appears in Mai's text; as also in St. Augustine.

[2] From "Proinde si" to "secundum substantiam" is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' xv. v. 8.

[3] Mai inserts "et."

[4] So the original text; but "ē," that is, "est," has been inserted after "non," and "dš ē" written in the margin. Mai reads "creatura non est, Deus est." The Bouhier Commentary has the same.

[5] Mai omits "de."

[6] This passage, from "Omnis itaque substantia" to "Deus non est," is word for word the same as PROSPER'S 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino,' 55. The Benedictine editors have given a marginal reference: "Ex lib. xiv., 'De Civ. Dei' et est canon II. concilii Arausicani." I have not been able to verify the reference to St. Augustine. Part of the passage—from "Omnis" to "Deus est"—appears in ALCUIN, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' lib. ii. cap. 9. But he borrows, as usual without acknowledgment. That the author of the Commentary drew from Prosper, not from Alcuin, is evident, inasmuch as the whole of the passage is found in the former, and a part only in the latter.

[7] Mai inserts "et."

[8] Mai reads "trinitas."

[9] Mai reads "ipse."

[10] Mai omits "ut."

qualitas mundi, sed substantia creatrix mundi, sine labore regens[1] sine honore[2] continens, mundum. Non tamen per spatia locorum, quasi mole diffusus, non ut in dimidia mundi parte sit dimidius, et in alia dimidia dimidius, atque ita per totum totus: non sic dein[3] solo cælo totus, et in sola terra totus, et in parte totus, et per cuncta totus: ita[4] contentus loco, sed in se ipso ubique totus.[5] Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus: unus Deus trinitas; sed et[6] ineffabili modo, cum sit ubique totus per Divinitatis presentiam, non est ubique per habitationis gratiam.[7] Et, cum quosdam peccantes deserit, eisdem tamen ipsis adest per judicium, quibus decernimus[8] per adjumentum. Unde non dicimus, Pater noster qui es ubique, cum procul dubio verum sit, sed Pater noster qui es in caelis, in sanctis videlicet angelis et sanctis hominibus,[9] in quibus[10] esse dicitur non solum per presentiam suæ inmensitatis, verum etiam per gratiam suae inhabitationis. Et propterea, cum supra dicerem ubique esse Deum, addendum putavi in se ipso.

[1] Mai reads "regnans."

[2] Mai, as also St. Augustine, "onere."

[3] Mai reads "sed in." So also St. Augustine.

[4] Mai reads "et nullo." So also St. Augustine.

[5] From "Sic est per cuncta" to "ubique totus" is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Præsentia Dei,' epis. clxxxvii. cap. iv. 14.

[6] For "et" Mai reads "miro."

[7] This is also almost word for word from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Epis.' clxxxvii. cap. v. 16.

[8] "Quibus decernimus" have been underscored by the corrector, and a marginal note has been added, which is partly lost, owing to the leaf having been cut away at the edge. Mai reads "quibus deesse cernitur."

[9] This interpretation of the language of the Lord's Prayer must be drawn from the same passage of St. AUGUSTINE. It also appears in another passage of that Father—'De Sermone Domini in Monte,' ii. 17—a passage which has been incorporated by ALCUIN, but without acknowledgment, in his work, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' lib. ii. cap. v.

[10] Mai adds "hominibus."

Est namque ubique, quia nusquam est absens, in se ipso autem, quia non continetur eis, quibus presens est, tanquam sine his esse non possit. Nam spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt; et, quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Iterum tolle ipsa corpora qualitatibus corporum, non erit ubi sint, et ideo necesse est ut non sint:[1] Deus autem, qui corporali loco non continetur, in se ipse[2] est ubique, scilicet per cuncta diffusus: sicut aqua,[3] sicut aer, sicut etiam ipsa lux, quę in minori loco minora sunt, in majori majora.[4] Deus autem, cujus inmensitas atque magnitudo non est molis sed virtutis, sic est etiam in quolibet uno homine, sicut per cuncta[5] rerum machina[6] totus. Sequitur. Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus. In Deitate trinitatis quod est esse perpetuum est,[7] quia natura, initio carens, incremento non indigens, sicut non incipitur, ita nec fine terminatur. Ibi quippe est, ubi nec expectatur quod veniat, neque percurrit quod debeat recordari; sed unum est[8] quod semper esse est. Quod si nos et angeli cum initio videre incipimus Deum, esse tamen hunc sine initio videmus. Ubi sic semper sine fine esse est, ut nunquam se[9] animus tendat ad

[1] This also, from "Et propterea," is almost word for word from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Epis.' clxxxvii. cap. vi.

[2] Mai reads "ipso."

[3] Something has clearly been omitted before "sicut aqua." In the margin, the corrector has written, "sed non ita diffusus." That these are the omitted words is shown by the fact of their being found in Mai. Obviously the cause of the error was the repetition of the word "diffusus." The corrector must have had another copy of this Commentary before him.

[4] In this sentence, the corrector clearly follows St. AUGUSTINE, 'Epis.' cxxxvii. sect. 4.

[5] Mai reads "cunctam." [6] Mai, "machinam."

[7] This is from St. LEO, 'Ep. ad Constantinopolitanos.'

[8] Mai reads "est unum."

[9] Mai reads "semet;" but he has added a marginal note: "Cod.

sequentia[1] in qua nulla pars suae longitudinis preterit, ut pars alia succedat, in qua omne quod est animus videt, et tardum non esse et longum esse. Et haec quidem[2] novimus ; qualiter tamen sit ipsa[3] aeternitas sine preterito ante saecula, sine futuro post saeculum, sine mora longio,[4] sine prestolatione perpetua, adhuc non videmus. Sequitur. Et tamen, non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus, et unus inmensus. Ideo non sunt tres aeterni, sed unus; quia sicut unus natus naturae[5] est Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, sicut[6] una est eorum increatio et inmensitas atque aeternitas. Sequitur. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus; et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. Omnipotens dicitur,[7] quia omnia potest, sicut scriptum est: Apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt, vel quia omnia quę sunt, ut sint, potestate illius tenentur, nec[8] occidant. Solent autem plerique aut quasi adulando Deo superflua de omnipotentia ejus loqui, aut non necessaria vera docere, cum cimicum aut muscarum vel culicum multitudinem ad curam Dei pertinere aiunt et notitiam; et propter illud, quod in evangelio dicitur, unum de duobus aut quinque passeribus non cadere in terra[9] sine Deo, aut fenum agri uri,[10] audent predicare, quod non solum genera,

set." Apparently he supposed "set" to be a contraction for "semet."

[1] Possibly the mark of contraction for the final *m* has been omitted over the last letter in "sequentia."

[2] Mai inserts "per fidem."

[3] Mai reads "haec ipsa."

[4] "Re" has been added by the corrector to "longio;" but Mai reads "longa."

[5] Mai reads "sicut unius naturae."

[6] Mai rightly reads "sic."

[7] Mai reads "dicit."

[8] Mai reads "ne."

[9] Mai, "terram."

[10] For "uri" Mai reads "vestire."

sed et numerum vermium noverit Deus, quod[1] ex corruptione corporum aut viventium aut mortuorum lignorumque aut aquarum corruptionibus vivificantur. Niqui[2] dicunt, quia[3] omnia potest, quippe qui sibi mortem concedere nequit nec mutari possit a bono. Sed, qui ista dicere vel audire delectantur, intellegunt[4] attentissime Deum simplicis esse naturę, ita ut non sint[5] in Deo aliud esse et aliud habere, nec esse[6] ejus aliud velle et aliud posse, sed hoc est velle quod posse. Omnia ergo quae vult potest, et quod potest vult;[7] nec major est voluntas, quam potentia, ejus, sed neque minor; sed utraque tanta est, quanta et ille, quia Deus hoc est, quod habet. Aeternitatem quippe habet, sed ipsa[8] est aeternitas sua; lucem habet, sed lux sua ipse est. Nam in creatura nulla vere simplex substantia est, cui non est hoc esse quod nosse. Potest enim esse nec nosse. At illa divina non potest, quia id ipsum est quod habet. Ac per hoc non sic habet scientiam, ut aliud[9] illi sit scientia qua scit, aliud essentia qua est; sed utrumque unum, quamvis non utrumque dicendum sit, quod verissime simplex et unum est.[10] Sequitur.

[1] Mai reads "quotquot."

[2] "Aliqui" is Mai's reading. It is observable how frequently he supplies the right reading. I have before remarked on the numerous errors of the Troyes manuscript as proofs that the scribe was copying from an older document.

[3] Mai adds "non."

[4] Mai reads "intellegant."

[5] Mai reads "sit."

[6] Mai reads "est."

[7] After "vult," Mai inserts "quoniam sic potens est, ut dispositionem suam servet, et nullo modo sua statuta convellat."

[8] Mai, "ipse."

[9] Mai, "alia."

[10] This passage, from "in creatura nulla" to "et unum est," is almost word for word from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Tract. in Johan.' xcix. 4. But it seems to have been taken *directly* from PROSPERI 'Liber Sententiarum ex Augustino,' No. 368, where it appears exactly as it is found in the text. This 'Liber Sententiarum' is printed in appendix ix. to St. Augustine's works, Benedictine edition.

Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus. Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus. Et tamen non tres Dii aut tres Domini, sed unus Deus et unus Dominus. De unitate Deitatis et dominatione sanctae trinitatis jam sufficienter dictum est; sed tamen sciendum, est quod Deus dicatur ad se, Dominus ad creaturas, quibus dominatur; Deus, quia solus colendus est,[1] Dominus, quia solus timendus; Deus religiosorum, Dominus vero servorum. Sequitur. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam Deum ac Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos dicere catholica religione prohibemur. Singillatim, hoc est, viritim vel singulariter, quia singulus Pater Deus et Dominus est, singulus Filius Deus et Dominus est, singulus Spiritus Sanctus Deus et Dominus est. Ita nos dicere fides Christiana cogit; quia, nisi ita dixerimus, Christiani esse non possumus, et tamen alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Patrem, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Filium, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Spiritum Sanctum prohibet nos catholica religio. Quia, si ita dixerimus, nec catholici nec religiosi esse poterimus. Sed ut Christiani simus atque catholici, dicamus vel potius credamus et Patrem Deum et Filium Deum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, et simul, non tres Deos, sed unum Deum, qui substantia et natura sit veraciter unus. Sequitur. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec genitus: Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, aut creatus, sed genitus: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, aut creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens. Quod factus aut creatus nec Pater sit, nec Filius, nec Spiritus Sanctus, jam supra dictum est. Sed et de Patre, quod non sit genitus, quia non est Filius, sed genitor tantum, quia Pater est, jam premissum est. Nunc vero attendendum omnino, quod dicitur, Filius a

[1] Mai omits "est."

Patre solo est genitus, Spiritus autem Sanctus ab utroque, id est, a Patre Filioque procedens, spiritus amborum est, Patris scilicet et Filii: Filius autem solius est Patris. Et haec est causa, quae distinguit quid differat inter nativitatem Filii et processionem Spiritus Sancti. Filius sic est de Patre, quomodo natus, non quomodo datus; Spiritus vero Sanctus sic est de Patre, simul et Filio, quomodo datus, non quomodo natus, hoc est, donum amborum.[1] Itaque Filius nascendo procedit, Spiritus vero Sanctus procedendo non nascitur, ne sint duo filii. Sequitur. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, sed[2] non tres Spiritus Sancti. Hęc sunt illa relativa nomina, sed[3] appellativa, in quibus trinitas invenitur. Non enim sic dicitur unus Pater aut unus Filius, sicut dicitur unus inmensus aut unus aeternus aut unus Deus, quia illa nomina sunt substantiae, hoc est, unitas;[4] ista[5] Pater videlicet, Filius, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, nomina sunt personarum, hoc est, trinitas.[6] Et ideo relativa sunt nomina, quia Pater ad alium refertur, hoc est, ad Filium; non enim sibi ipsi est Pater, sed alteri, hoc est, Filio: similiter Filius ad Patrem refertur: sed[7] Spiritus Sanctus vel donum, cum dicitur, refertur ad Patrem et Filium, a quibus procedit vel datur. Nam illa nomina substantialia, hoc est, Deus, Dominus, aeternus, et cetera,

[1] The expression "quomodo datus, non quomodo natus," is really from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. v. cap. 15. The same Father carefully guards against the term "donum," as applied to the Holy Spirit, being understood in a sense derogatory to His eternal Procession; 'De Trin.' lib. v. cap. 16. ALCUIN, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' lib. ii. cap. 20, does the same, adopting the very language of St. Augustine, but without acknowledgment.

[2] Mai omits "sed."

[3] This has been underscored, and "vel" written above it, by the corrector. "Vel" is the reading of Mai.

[4] Mai reads "unitatis."

[5] Mai adds "vero."

[6] Mai reads "trinitatis."

[7] Mai adds "et."

de quibus jam satis scriptum est, in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam sed ad seipsum.[1] Nam etsi Apostolus dicit Christum Dei virtutem et Dei sapientiam, tamen non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est, Verbum autem aut imago aut Filius relativum. Quod si Pater, qui genuit sapientiam,[2] ex ea fit sapiens, neque hoc est[3] illi esse quod sapere; qualitas ejus erit Filius, non proles[4] ejus, et non ibi erit jam summa simplicitas; sed non ita sit.[5] Ergo et Pater ipse sapientia est, et ita dicit[6] Filius a[7] sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris, id est, ut quemadmodum lumen de lumine, et utrumque lumen unum, sic intellegatur sapientia de sapientia, et utrumque una sapientia.[8] Pater igitur et Filius simul una essentia et una magnitudo et una virtus[9] et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum, quia non simul ambo unus Filius. Verbum enim relative, sapientia essentialiter intellegitur.[10] Sapientia ergo Filius de sapientia Patre, sicut lumen de lumine, et Deus de Deo, ut et singulus Pater lumen, et singulus Filius lumen, et singulus Pater Deus, et singulus Filius Deus. Ergo et singulus Pater sapientia,

[1] Mai reads "alium sed ad seipsam." [2] Mai adds "et."

[3] Mai omits "est." [4] Mai reads "prolis."

[5] This is underscored, and in the margin is written "Absit ut ita sit," which is the reading of Mai, and of the passage in St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 1, from which this sentence, beginning at "Quod si Pater," is copied.

[6] Mai, "dicitur." So also St. Augustine.

[7] Mai and the printed text of St. Augustine omit "a."

[8] This sentence is also from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 1. ALCUIN, too, 'De Fide S. Trinitatis,' lib. ii. cap. 14, has borrowed the passage, but without acknowledgment.

[9] In St. Augustine we have "veritas" for "virtus."

[10] From "Pater igitur" to "intellegitur" is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 2.

et singulus Filius sapientia. Sicut utrumque simul unum lumen et unus Deus, sicut[1] utrumque una sapientia.[2] Spiritus quoque sanctus sapientia, et simul non tres sapientiæ;[3] sed una sapientia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus.[4] Sequitur. Sed in hac trinitate nichil prius aut posterius, nichil majus aut minus. Haec et trinitas unus est Deus; et, quia unus est, non potest esse diversus; quia[5] natura non potest seipsa esse prior aut posterior, major aut minor. Non est Pater prior Filio, neque major: non est Spiritus Sanctus posterior Patre aut Filio vel minor. Sequitur. Sed totae tres personae quo aeternae sibi sunt et quo aequales. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est; et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit. Qui ergo vult salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat.[6] Sequitur. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jhesu Christi fideliter credat. Sicut fideliter credenda est divinitas regnantis, ita fideliter credenda est humanitas salvantis, quia equalis patricole[7] est de mysterio incarnationis prave sentire, ut divinitatis archana[8] male intellegere.[9] Nihil

[1] In Mai it is "sic." So also in St. Augustine.

[2] This also, from "Sapientia ergo" to "una sapientia," is word for word from St. Augustine, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 3. After "sapientia," Mai adds "sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo, de qua, cum aliquid in scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis insinuatur." This also appears in the Bouhier Commentary.

[3] Mai, "sapientes."

[4] This is in substance from St. Augustine, 'De Trin.' lib. vii. cap. 3.

[5] Mai adds "una."

[6] Mai adds "Et haec jam dicta sunt."

[7] So apparently the MS.; but "periculi" is clearly the right reading, and it is found in Mai and the Bouhier Commentary.

[8] Mai reads "de divinitatis arcano."

[9] The author of the Commentary apparently had in his mind a passage in the Epistle of St. Leo to Flavian: "Aequalis periculi erat Dominum Jesum Christum aut Deum tantummodo sine homine aut sine Deo solum hominem credidisse."

enim justius, quam ut salvus non sit, qui salutis mysterio derogare non timuerit. Sciendum sane, quod aliam significationem habeat Jhesus, aliam Christus, cum sit unus salvator. Jhesus tamen proprium nomen est illi, sicut propria nomina sunt Elias aut Abraam: Christus autem sacramenti nomen est, quomodo si dicatur propheta aut[1] patriarcha. Jhesus quoque nomen ebreum, interpretatur in latino salutaris, sive salvator: Christus autem grece dicitur, quod transfertur in latinum unctus ab unctione, id est, chrisma,[2] et hebraice dicitur messias. Sequitur. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur quia Dominus noster Jhesus Christus Deus pariter et homo est. Hoc enim est illud sacramentum ab initio ex vulva dispositum, ut semen Abrae mundi conditor apprehenderet, quatinus in se ipso nostrae probaret primitias naturae, ut Deus homo fieret in[3] singularitate personae copulans utramque naturam, mediator Dei et hominum hominibus appareret[4] et his, propter quos venerat redimendos, ipse unus autem[5] Deus et legifer et rex et magister et redemptor Deus[6] et redemptio, sacerdos et oblatio, veritas et vita, sapientia et doctor, id est, qualiter et se[7] sequentibus exempla vivendi monstraret; et suo generi, id est, hominibus homo ipse factus per gratiam consuleret, quibus suffragari justitia nullatenus volebat;[8] ut, cum ille in homine mortem vinceret, natura in eo humani generis triumpharet. In illo enim nostra portio, quia nostra caro et sanguis, ut, ubi regnat nostra portio, nos quoque glorificemur. Quamvis igitur peccato,[9] de hac communicatione[10] gratiae non

[1] Mai adds "dicatur."
[2] Mai, "chrismate."
[3] For "in" Mai reads "ut."
[4] This evidently follows St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ad Volusianum,' cap. iii.
[5] For "autem" Mai reads "esset."
[6] Mai omits "Deus."
[7] Mai omits "se."
[8] Mai reads "valebat."
[9] The corrector has written the letter *r* above the *o* in "peccato." Mai reads "peccator."
[10] Mai, "communione."

desperes;[1] quia, etsi peccata nos prohibent, substantia nos requirit; si delicta propria exquirunt,[2] naturę communio non repellit.[3] Nullum enim majus donum prestare posset Deus hominibus, quam ut Verbum suum, per quod condidit omnia, faceret illis caput, et illos ei, tanquam membra, cohabitaret,[4] ut esset filius Dei et filius hominis, unus cum Patre, unus homo cum hominibus. Sequitur. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, homo est ex

[1] Mai, "desperet." [2] Mai, "excludunt."

[3] This passage, from "In illo nostra portio" to "repellit," has an obvious resemblance to the following passage, which appears in the fifteenth chapter of the 'Liber Meditationum' in the fifth appendix to the works of St. AUGUSTINE:—"Est enim in ipso Jesu Christo Domino nostro uniuscujusque nostrum portio, caro et sanguis. Ubi ergo portio mea regnat, ibi me regnare credo. Ubi caro mea glorificatur, ibi gloriosum me esse cognosco. Ubi sanguis mea dominatur, ibi dominari me sentio, Quamvis peccator sim, de hac communione gratiæ non diffido. Etsi peccata mea prohibent, substantia mea requirit. Etsi delicta mea me excludunt, naturæ communio non repellit." This 'Liber Meditationum' is a collection of prayers and meditations, drawn from earlier sources; and the greater part of it, comprising the above passage, is identified with a book compiled by Johannes Fiscamnensis, who died A.D. 1178, and compiled, according to his own account, which appears in the dedication and preface, from Scripture and the works of the Fathers. And so it is described in a manuscript written about the time of the compiler. (See "Admonitio" to 'Liber Meditationum,' in the Benedictine edition of St. Augustine.) The 'Liber Meditationum' was attributed to St. Augustine, and hence was at first edited among his works. That the author of the Oratorian Commentary should have drawn from Johannes Fiscamnensis, the earlier from the later writer, is of course impossible; that the converse process did not take place, would appear from a comparison of the two passages: it remains—for there can be no other way of accounting for the resemblance—that both must have drawn independently from the same source; and that source must have been the work of some Father prior to either of them, of what Father is unknown.

[4] For "cohabitaret" Mai reads "coaptaret."

substantia matris in saeculo natus: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo et[1] ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens. Ingressus est igitur Filius Dei uterum Virginis, ut iterum nasceretur, ante jam genitus, qui suscepit tantum[2] hominem, qui jam habebat de Patre[3] plenissimam Deitatem, non dissimilis Patri cum nascitur eorum[4] aeterno perpetuus, non dissimilis homini cum ex matre nascitur moriturus;[5] consubstantialis Patri secundum Divinitatem, consubstantialis matri secundum cognatam nobis infirmitatem:[6] quia essentialiter natus est de Patre, et essentialiter conceptus natusque de matre, ut esset unus[7] naturę cum Virgine.[8]

[1] Mai omits "et."

[2] Mai reads "totum."

[3] Mai, "quia jam de Patre habebat."

[4] So the MS. apparently; but for "eorum" Mai reads "ex."

[5] This passage, from "Ingressus" to "moriturus," is found in VIGILIUS, 'De Unitate Trinitatis,' cap. xiv. Compare St. AUGUSTINE, 'in Joh. Evan. Tract.' xii. 8.: "Duæ nativitates Christi intelliguntur, una divina, altera humana, una per quam efficeremur, altera per quam reficeremur, ambæ mirabiles, illa sine matre, ista sine patre."

[6] The expression, "cognatam nobis infirmitatem," appears in St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ad Volusianum,' cap. iii. Compare VINCENT LIRINENSIS, 'Commonitorium Primum,' sect. 13: "In uno eodemque Christo duæ substantiæ sunt; sed una divina, altera humana; una ex Patre Deo, altera ex matre Virgine; una co-æterna et æqualis Patri, altera ex tempore et minor Patre; una consubstantialis Patri, altera consubstantialis matri; unus tamen idemque Christus in utraque substantia."

[7] A small *i* has been written above the *n* in "unus" by the corrector. Mai reads "unius."

[8] The words "unius naturę cum Patre et" have clearly been omitted inadvertently after "esset," as appears by the Bouhier Commentary, which inserts them. The above passage bears an evident correspondence with the following from the work entitled 'Liber de Fide ad Petrum:'—"Verbum carnem factum: ipsum quoque esse, qui essentialiter natus est de Patre, et essentialiter conceptus est natusque de Virgine; ipsumque unum esse, et unius naturae cum Patre, et unius naturae cum Virgine."—'Liber de Fide ad Petrum,' cap. xiii., St. AUGUSTINE, 'Opera,' tom. xvii. Edit. 1797.

Natus[1] idcirco perfectus Deus, quia non[2] dissimilis Deo Patri, perfectus[3] homo, quia similis omni[4] matri, quę mater ita illum salva virginitate genuit, sic ut salva virginitate concoepit.[5] Verus enim Deus verus factus est homo, quia omnia nostra suscepit, quę in nobis ipse creavit, id est, carnem et animam rationalem: propter quod[6] confitemur perfectum eum[7] Deum et perfectum hominem. Sequitur. Aequalis[8] Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor[9] Patre secundum humanitatem. Ideo aequalis et minor, quia Deus et homo, quia sempiternus et temporalis, ut incomprehensibilis comprehendi posset, et inmortalis haberet, in quo moreretur. Sequitur. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus. Non est alter Christus in Deitate, et alter in

This work was formerly attributed to St. Augustine; but by the Benedictine editors it has been placed in the appendix to his works, and is assigned by them without hesitation to Fulgentius. The style, they assert, differs from that of St. Augustine, and it is attributed to Fulgentius in a very ancient manuscript written before the eighth century, and is quoted by Ratramn as the work of the latter. It is remarkable that the words "unius naturae cum Patre" are wanting in some copies of this work, as in the Commentary before us.

[1] For "natus" Mai reads "et."

[2] Mai adds "est."

[3] Mai adds "quoque."

[4] The corrector has written "no" above "omni," in the belief obviously that "omnino" was the right reading; but Mai has "homini," which is found also in the Bouhier Commentary, and is no doubt the right one. The expression is found in St. AUGUSTINE, 'Sermo.' ccxv. sect. 4.

[5] This seems to be borrowed all but word for word from St. Leo "Conceptus est . . . intra uterum virginis matris quae illum ita salva virginitate edidit, quemadmodum salva virginitate concepit."—St. LEO, 'Epis. ad Flavianum,' sect. 2. Mai omits the words "genuit . . . virginitate."

[6] Mai reads "propterea."

[7] Mai, "eum perfectum."

[8] Mai adds "est."

[9] After "minor" an erasure has taken place. Mai adds "est."

humanitate, quia non sunt duae personae, sed una. Deus enim Verbum non accepit personam hominis, sed naturam, et persona Divinitatis accepit substantiam carnis, ut in singularitate personae tota humanitas suscepta unus Christus sit, et unus filius Dei atque hominis.[1] Nam sicut tres personas sanctae trinitatis credimus in unitate naturae, ita credimus duas Christi naturas in unitate personae. In uno etiam Christo, sicut duas credimus naturas, ita duas naturales[2] operationes indivise, inconvertibiliter, inseparabiliter, inconfuse; et has duas voluntates, non contrarias, sed sequentem humanam ejus voluntatem et non resistentem vel reluctantem, sed potius subjectam divinę ejus atque omnipotente[3] voluntati. Sicut enim ejus caro Dei Verbum dicitur et est, ita et naturalis carnis ejus voluntas propria Dei Verbi dicitur et est. Quemadmodum enim sanctissima atque immaculata animata[4] ejus caro deificata est, non est perempta, sed in[5] proprio sui statu et ratione permansit, ita et humana ejus voluntas deificata[6] est.[7] Nam salvator, sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit

[1] Here, again, we are able to trace an evident correspondence of language with FULGENTIUS'S 'Liber de Fide ad Petrum.' The passage is in the seventeenth chapter of that book: "Deus Verbum non accepit personam hominis, sed naturam; et in aeternam personam Divinitatis accepit temporalem substantiam carnis."

[2] After "naturales" the margin supplies the words "voluntates et duas naturales." They appear in Mai.

[3] The corrector has drawn a line through the final *e*. Mai reads "omnipotenti."

[4] Mai adds "que."

[5] Mai omits "in."

[6] Mai reads "Dei facta;" but "deificata" is no doubt the right reading, being found in the 'Interpretatio Vetus.'

[7] The whole of this passage respecting the divine and human wills of our Blessed Lord, from the words "ita duas naturales voluntates" down to "voluntas deificata est," is from an 'Interpretatio Vetus Latina' of the Definition of the Sixth General Council. See ROUTH'S 'Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Opuscula,' tom. ii. pp. 241, 242. Oxon. 1840. Routh says of this 'Vetus Interpretatio:' "In editio-

ut salvaret, ideo et humanam voluntatem vel operationem suscipiendo salvavit. Sequitur. Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carne[1] sed assumptione humanitatis in Deo.[2] Conversio mutatio dicitur. Non enim est conversa,[3] id est, mutata Divinitas in carne;[4] sed manens, quod erat, suscepit carnem.[5] Humanitas quoque assumpta est in Deum, non consumpta.[6] Sicut enim Deus non mutatur miseratione, ita homo non consumitur dignitate.[7] Homo Deo accessit, Deus a se non recessit: adquievit esse, quod non erat; non desiit esse, quod erat.[8] Sequitur. Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae. Confusio dicitur permixtio: sicut solent duo liquores ita misceri, ut neutrum servet integritatem suam.[9] In Christo ergo non sunt permixtę substantiae, quia servat utraque cum alterius communione proprietatem suam in singularitate personae. Sequitur. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo

nibus Conciliorum recentioribus adposita est Definitioni; in vetustioribus ante Græce edita concilia comparet."

[1] Mai reads "carnem."

[2] Mai, "Deum."

[3] Mai, "conversa est."

[4] Mai, "carnem."

[5] See St. AUGUSTINE, 'Enchiridion,' cap. xxxiv.: "Verbum caro factum est, a Divinitate carne suscepta, non in carnem Divinitate mutata."

[6] Compare St. AUGUSTINE: "Forma servi accessit, non forma Dei recessit: hac est assumpta, non illa consumta."—'Trac. in Johannem,' lxxviii. 1.

[7] This sentence—"Sicut enim . . . dignitate"—is from LEO'S 'Epistle to Flavian.' A previous instance of verbal correspondence with that document has been noticed.

[8] Compare St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ser.' cxxi. 5: "Accessit ad nos, sed a se non multum recessit: immo a se, quod Deus est, nunquam recessit; sed addidit, quod erat, naturæ nostræ. Accessit enim ad id, quod non erat; non amisit, quod erat. Factus est Filius hominis, non cessavit esse Filius Dei." The commentator seemingly must have had this passage before him.

[9] This seems to be from St. AUGUSTINE, 'Epis.' cxxxvii. cap. iii.

unus est Christus. Sicut in quolibet homine non est una persona anima[1] et alia caro, sed ex anima et carne unus est homo; ita in Christo non sunt duae personae, sed una divina, quae incarnata est. Nam sicut hominis personam gestat anima, non enim corpus mortuum dicitur persona sicut nec lapis aut lignum, ita Christi personam gestat Divinitas, assumptrix humanitatis: propter quod in utraque substantia dicitur et creditur unicus et unigenitus Filius Dei.[2] Unde et Verbum propter carnem homo est, et caro propter Verbum Deus est.[3] Sequitur. Qui passus est pro salute nostra. Passus est; et[4] in sola assumpta substantia. Licet enim juxta naturam suam expers passionis extiterit, pro nobis tamen carne passus est; quia erat in crucifixo proprio corpore impassibiter ad se referens passiones. Gratia vero Dei pro omnibus gustavit mortem tradens ei proprium corpus, quamvis naturaliter ipse[5] vita sit et resurrectio mortuorum.[6] Se-

[1] Mai, "animae." [2] Mai, "Deus."

[3] This is based apparently upon a passage of VIGILIUS TAPSENSIS, 'Con. Eutychetem,' lib. iv. sect. 5: "Verbum propter carnem suam, homo Jesus Christus; et caro propter Verbum Deus Verbum est;" and shortly after: "Christus . . . idem Deus, idem homo: unde constat et divinitatem humanitatis et humanitatem divinitatis habere vocabulum; id est, Verbum dici carnem, et carnem dici Verbum; non quia in se utrumque mutatum sit, sed quia utrumque una persona, id est unus Christus sit." Vigilius flourished towards the close of the fifth century. ALCUIN, who is much in the habit of adopting the language of earlier writers, appears also to have had this passage before him—"Caro Deus est," he says, "propter Verbum, et Verbum homo propter carnem."—'Adv. Felicem,' i. 10. St. VINCENT of Lerins gives the reason of this "Communicatio idiomatum:" "Propter quam personæ unitatem indifferenter atque promiscue, et quæ Dei sunt proprie, tribuuntur homini, et quæ carnis propria, tribuuntur Deo."—'Commonitorium Primum,' sect. 14. On this subject see PEARSON on the Creed, art. iv.

[4] Mai reads "pro salute nostra passus est, sed." [5] Mai, "ipsa."

[6] This sentence—"Gratia vero . . . mortuorum"—is from the

quitur. Descendit ad inferna; ut mortem[1] ineffabili potentia proculcata expoliaret infernum. Tertia die resurrexit a mortuis; ut primogenitus ex mortuis fieret primitiae dormientium, et faceret viam humanae naturae ad incorruptionis recursum.[2] Sequitur. Ascendit ad coelos, sedet ad dexteram Patris. Propterea humiliatus est Deus in homine, ut homo exaltaretur in Deo, et unus Christus, qui inclinatur in assumptis, assumpta glorificaret[3] in propriis, dum[4] affici non dedignatur injuriis et ad aequalitatem recurrit Genitoris.[5] Sedet ad dexteram Patris, id est, regnat in beatitudine superna. Sedere enim regnare est: dextera vero Patris beatitudo est sempiterna. Sequitur. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Inde, hoc est, dextera Patris venturus est, quia visionem humanitatis omnibus presentaturus, ut in judicio sit conspicuus in ea forma, qua judicatus est. Querendum est autem quomodo intellegatur quod ipse Dominus ait in evangelio: Ego non judicabo, sed verbum, quod locutus sum vobis,

translation of the Synodical Epistle of St. Cyril of Alexandria by Dionysius Exiguus. ROUTH, 'Opuscula,' tom. ii. p. 40. Oxford, 1840.

[1] Mai, "morte."

[2] These two notes are from the same source as the preceding. The whole passage is as follows:—"Gratia vero Dei pro omnibus gustavit mortem, tradens ei proprium corpus, quamvis naturaliter ipse vita sit et resurrectio mortuorum. Nam ut mortem ineffabili potentia proculcaret, ac primus in sua carne primogenitus ex mortuis fieret, et primitiae dormientium, viamque faceret humanae naturae ad incorruptionis recursum, gratia Dei sicut supra dictum est pro omnibus gustavit mortem, et tertio die resurgens spoliavit infernum."—ROUTH, 'Opuscula,' ubi supra.

[3] Mai, "glorificasset."

[4] Mai, "et."

[5] This passage, from "unus" to "Genitoris," is apparently founded on the following passage in VIGILIUS TAPSENSIS, 'De Unitate Trinitatis,' cap. xvi.:—"unus atque inseparabilis Christus, et humiliatur assumptis, et glorificatur in propriis; cum affici non dedignatur injuriis, et aequalitatem custodit genitoris."

judicabit vos; cum in alio loco dixerit: Pater non judicat quemquam; sed omne judicium dedit Filio. Ita enim[1] intellegendum est: Ego non judicabo ex potestate humana, sed judicabo ex potestate Verbi.[2] Quapropter Filius hominis judicaturus est, nec tamen ex humana potestate, sed ex ea, qua Filius Dei est. Et rursus Filius Dei[3] judicaturus est, nec tamen in ea forma apparens, in qua Deus est, sed in ea, qua Filius hominis est. Ita quoque dicitur: Pater non judicat quemquam, ac si diceret:[4] Patrem nemo videbit in judicio, sed omnes Filium quia Filius hominis est, ut sit in judicio conspicuus bonis et malis.[5] Nam invisibiliter tota trinitas judicabit. Vivos et mortuos, id est, eos quos dies judicii vivos invenerit et eos qui jam antea obierant. Sequitur. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Adveniente Domino resuscitantur mortui cum corporibus suis, ut unusquisque in eo corpore, quod[6] bona vel mala gessit, reddat rationem gestorum suorum, et in eo corpore, per quod operatus est, recipiet retributionem factorum suorum. Sequitur. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam. Tunc enim humana[7] ad conditoris sui similitudinem sublimabitur, et omnia ei bona, quae naturaliter accepta per peccata corruperat, reparabuntur in melius, id est, intellectus sine errore, memoria sine oblivione, cogitatio sine pervagatione, caritas sine simulatione, sensus sine

[1] Mai omits "enim."

[2] This is the interpretation of St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' i. 27.

[3] Mai omits "Dei."

[4] Mai reads "diceretur." The mark of contraction may have been omitted inadvertently in the manuscript.

[5] Here, too, the commentator is evidently borrowing from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' i. 29, 30.

[6] Mai reads "quo."

[7] Some word is evidently omitted. "Substantia" is written in the margin. It is found in Mai.

offensione, incolumitas sine debilitate, salus sine dolore, vita sine morte, facultas sine impedimento, saturitas sine fastidio, et tota sanitas sine morbo. Sequitur. Qui vero mala egerunt, in ignem aeternum. Multi egerunt mala, qui non[1] ibunt in ignem aeternum, quia ante mortem suam veram penitudinem de peccatis suis gesserunt; sed haec[2] de illis dicitur, quia[3] mala egerunt et in malis perseveraverunt et non emendaverunt. Aeternus vero est ignis, qui eis aeternus[4] exhibet cruciatus, quia nunquam finietur, nec eos disinet cruciare.[5] Sequitur. Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi[6] fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit. Fideliter credamus, ut in fide non erremus; firmiter credamus, ut de creditis non dubitemus, si volumus ad aeternam salutem pervenire, ubi cum angelis Deum laudantes de illius laude vivamus, de illius laude et nos gloriemur, qui vivit et regnat per infinita semper saecula saeculorum.[7]

C.

The Bouhier Commentary.

The text is that of Troyes, 1979. Collations are given from Troyes, 1532, and British Museum Addit. 24,902; described respectively as Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902.

Incipit expositio Sancti Augustini Fidei Sancti Athanasii Episcopi in veneratione Sanctissime Trinitatis individuaeque unitatis omnipotentissimi universitatis Dei.[8]

[1] Mai adds "et."
[2] Mai, "hoc."
[3] Mai reads "dicitur de illis, qui."
[4] So the MS.; but Mai reads "quia aeternos."
[5] Mai, "cruciari."
[6] Mai adds "quique."
[7] Mai adds "Amen."
[8] In Tr. 1532, the title is "Incipit Expositio fidei catholice Sancti Athanasii Episcopi;" in B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Incipit Expositio fidei catholicae."

Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandriae[1] ecclesie antistite istud fidei opusculum sit editum, sic[2] etiam in veteribus codicibus invenitur pretitulatum. Quod idcirco tam brevi et plano[3] sermone tunc traditum fuisse cognoscitur, ut omnibus catholicis etiam minus eruditis tutamentum defensionis[4] prestaret adversus illam tempestatem, quam ventus contrarius, hoc est, diabolus excitavit per Arrium. Qua tempestate navicula, hoc est,[5] Christi ecclesia in medio mari, videlicet[6] mundo, diu jactata est fluctibus et vexata,[7] sed non soluta aut submersa. Quia ille imperavit vento et mari, qui se eidem ecclesie promisit usque ad[8] finem saeculi affuturum. Quicunque ergo de hujus maris fluctubus salvari desiderat, et in profundum abyssi, aeternam videlicet perditionem, demergi pavescit, teneat integre et inviolabiliter fidei veritatem. Ita enim incipit ipsum opusculum: Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est ut teneat catholicam fidem. Fides, quę credentem salvat et in aeternum perire non sinit, non est illa, de qua Jacob apostolus[9] dicit: Et demones credunt et contremescunt: et iterum: Fides sine operibus mortua est. Sed illa potius est, que juxta apostolum Paulum[10] per dilectionem operatur; illam videlicet dilectionem, de qua Dominus ait: Qui diligit me, sermones meos servat. Ille ergo tenet fideliter[11] fidem Dei, qui non solum recte

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Alexandrinę."
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "sicut."
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "plano et brevi."
[4] Tr. 1532 omits "defensionis."
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "id est."
[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "id est;" but "videlicet" is written above.
[7] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "invexata."
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "in;" but "ad" has been written above it.
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "apostolus Jacob."
[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Paulum apostolum."
[11] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "veracitor."

crédit de Deo, sed etiam digne diligendo et agendo promereri desiderat Deum. Fides alio nomine dicitur credulitas: nam apud Grecos fides et credulitas uno nomine appellatur, id est, PISTIS.[1] Catholica Grecum nomen est;[2] interpretatur autem Latino eloquio universalis, quia toto mundo diffusa ecclesia et toto tempore. Hanc tenet fidem et tenuit; neque unquam aut tempore mutata est aut[3] variata. Nam hereticorum fides non potest dici catholica, quia non est publica, sed privata, nec ubique tenetur, nec semper fuisse monstratur. Ante omnia ergo summa necessitas est, ut fides vera teneatur. Ipsa enim opera precedit. Nam sine bonorum operum meritis per fidem justificatur impius, sicut dicit apostolus:[4] Credenti in eum, qui justificat impium, deputatur fides ejus ad justitiam. Ut deinde ipsa fides per dilectionem incipiat operari; ea quippe sola bona opera dicenda sunt, quę fiunt per dilectionem Dei. Hęc autem necesse est ante cedat fides, ut inde ista, non ab istis incipiat illa; quoniam nullus operatur per dilectionem Dei, nisi prius credit in Deum. Hęc est fides, de qua dicitur: In Christo enim Ihesu neque circumcisio aliquid valet neque praeputium, sed fides que per dilectionem operatur. Ergo, ut bona opera sequantur, precedit fides; nec ulla sunt bona opera, nisi quę secuntur, precedente fide. Et ideo credendo in Deum prevenit quisque opera sua. Existimo enim, inquit apostolus, justificari hominem per fidem sine operibus. Non enim ut justificetur de operibus gloriatur, nec preponit fidei merita sua, sed fide prevenit opera sua Et quidem temporalis salus communis

[1] Tr. 1532, "apellatur ΠΥϹΤΙϹ." A line has been drawn through the last word, and "pistis" written above it. B. M. Addit. 24,902 has "nam fides et credulitas uno nomine ΠΥϹΤϹ." "Pistis" has been written above the last word by the corrector.

[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "est nomen."

[3] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add "locis."

[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "Paulus."

est et bonis et malis; immo, communis est hominibus et jumentis, sicut cantatur in psalmo: Homines et jumenta salvos facies, Domine. Aeternam vero salutem quam Dominus promittit dicens: Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, salvus erit, et de qua propheta ait: Israel salvatus est in Domino salute eterna,[1] nullus proculdubio consequi valet, nisi per fidem; et fidem non quamlibet, num[2] quam excogitavit Arrius aut Sabellius vel ceteri heretici, sed catholicam, id est, universalem. Quam divinitus traditam et inspiratam universa semper tenuit et tenebit ecclesia. Hęc est enim, de qua Deus per prophetam dicit: Justus autem meus ex fide vivit;[3] et apostolus testatur dicens: Sine fide impossibile est placere Deo.[4] Quę in tantum omnia bona hominis precedit, ut, nisi ab ipsa et per ipsam, nihil boni[5] in homine inchoari possit. Hęc enim primo[6] homini commendatur et traditur; et sic ad sacramenta salvus accedit,[7] videlicet, ut exhorcizetur, catechizetur, baptizetur, mensę dominicae societur, et sacri chrismatis[8] unctione per donum sancti Spiritus consumetur. Quatinus per hęc ecclesię incorporatus eruatur de potestate tenebrarum et transferatur in regnum Filii[9] caritatis[10] Dei, ut deinceps vivere Deo[11] et cum Deo possit operari. Unde

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "salutem ęternam." The quotation is from Is. xlvii. 17.

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "non," and no doubt rightly. In the latter, "duę partes" has been written above in another hand.

[3] See Hab. ii. 4, where the passage in the Vulgate is, "Justus autem in fide sua vivet." But in Heb. x. 38, it is quoted word for word the same as in the text.

[4] Heb. xi. 6.

[5] Tr. 1532 adds "traditur sive."

[6] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "prima."

[7] Tr. 1532, "accedat."

[8] Tr. 1532, "crismatis."

[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "Filii."

[10] Tr. 1532, "ćaritatis."

[11] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Deo vivere."

recte de eadem fide subjungitur:[1] Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in eternum peribit. Integra et inviolata servanda est fides; quia nihil[2] de illa[3] est auferendum, nihil mutandum, sicut in fine libri apocalypsis[4] terribiliter contestatum est; ubi legitur: Si quis apposuerit ad hęc, apponet Deus super illum plagas quae scriptae sunt in libro isto;[5] et si quis deminuerit, auferet Deus nomen ejus de libro vitae. Demunt namque et violant, id est, minuunt et corrumpunt sacramenta fidei heretici et scismatici; et idcirco ejicit illos[6] foras ecclesia et excludit a se, ut ipsa sine macula inveniatur et ruga. Sicut enim Deus veritas est, ita ea quę apostolica ecclesia de Deo docuit, vera sunt. Si aliquid horum detraxeris[7] aut[8] mutaveris, intrat putredo de veneno serpentis, nascuntur vermes mendaciorum, et nihil integrum remanebit. Quia ubi fuerit corruptio, falsitatis, non ibi erit integritas veritatis. Sequitur.[9] Fides autem catholica haec est, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem in unitate veneremur. Unitas[10] est in Deitate, trinitas in personis. Veneremur ergo unitatem Deitatis in trinitate personarum; veneremur trinitatem personarum in unitate Deitatis. In qua trinitate tanta est substantiae unitas, ut aequalitatem teneat, pluralitatem non recipiat; tanta personarum distinctio, ut unione

[1] This passage, from "Ante omnia ergo" to "subjungitur," is not found at all in the Oratorian Commentary.

[2] Tr. 1532 always reads "nichil."

[3] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "ea."

[4] In B. M. Addit. 24,902, the word is given in Greek characters, and "apocalipsis" is written above.

[5] Tr. 1532, "isto libro." [6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "eos."

[7] Tr. 1532, "deinseris" apparently; but B. M. Addit. 24,902, "dempseris," the right reading doubtless.

[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "vel."

[9] "Sequitur" is omitted in Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902.

[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Una;" but in the latter "unitas" has been written above as a correction.

non permisceatur.[1] Tres personae unius sunt essentiae sive naturae, unius virtutis, unius operationis, unius beatitudinis, atque unius potestatis, ut trina sit unitas et una sit trinitas. Ita ut ex plenitudine Divinitatis nihil minus in singulis, nihil amplius[2] intelligatur in tribus. Velut si de tribus hominibus dicamus, quod sint inmortales; manifestum est non plus posse vivere simul tres quam singulos, nec minus singulos quos[3] totos[4] tres; quorum trium una est inmortalitas. Aut si aequaliter sint sapientes: non[5] plus sapiunt simul quam singuli, sed tanta est in unoquoque sapientia, quanta in tribus. Si hoc ergo in creatura invenitur, quanto magis in creatore, in Patre scilicet et Filio et Spiritu Sancto: cui est aeterna et incommutabilis unitas, qui[6] est indifferens trinitas; unus Deus, unum lumen, unumque principium. Trinitas dicitur quasi tri unitas, id est, trium unitas. Hoc est enim vera trinitas, tres unum esse. Unde Johannes apostolus dicit: Et[7] tres unum sunt. Sequitur.[8] Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam[9] separantes. Sabellius, quia intellexit unum[10] esse trinitatis substantiam, ideo confundens personas, ipsum sibi Patrem, ipsum sibi Filium, ipsum[11] Spiritum Sanctum, esse dicebat. Nos vero non nomina tantum sed etiam nominum[12] proprietates, id est,

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "permisceantur."
[2] For "amplius" Tr. 1532 reads "plus."
[3] For "quos" B. M. Addit. 24,902 reads "quam."
[4] For "totos" Tr. 1532 reads "omnes."
[5] "Non" is omitted in Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902.
[6] Tr. 1532, "que."
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "hi."
[8] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "substantia;" but there is some appearance of erasure above the final *a*. Probably the mark of contraction has been erased.
[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "unam."
[11] Tr. 1532 add. "sibi."
[12] Tr. 1532 adds "potestates et."

personas confitemur. Nec Pater[1] aut Filii aut Spiritus Sancti personam aliquando[2] excludit; nec rursus Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus Patris nomen personamque[3] recipit. Sed Pater semper Pater, Filius semper Filius, Spiritus Sanctus semper Spiritus Sanctus. E contrario autem[4] Arrius, quia cognovit tres personas, idcirco et tres asseruit divisas substantias. Sed nos detestantes Arrium unam eandemque dicimus trinitatis esse substantiam, et unum in tribus personis fatemur Deum. Impietatem quoque Sabellii declinamus,[5] tres personas sub proprietate distinguimus. Quia Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus substantia unum sunt, personis ac nominibus distinguntur. Substantia est unius cujusque rei essentia vel natura. Perquam omne, quod[6] est, subsistere et esse cognoscitur. Sequitur.[7] Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti; sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est Divinitas, aequalis gloria, co-aeterna majestas. Alius est in persona Pater, alius in Persona Filius, alius in persona Spiritus Sanctus. Non est alius in Deitate, non est alius in gloria. Alius est Pater et alius Filius, quia non est ipse Pater, qui Filius. Non est tamen aliud Pater et aliud Filius, quia hoc est Pater quod Filius. Pater enim genitor est, non genitus. Filius genitus est, non genitor. Spiritus Sanctus non est genitor, quia non est Pater; non est genitus, quia non est Filius: sed procedens est, quia Spiritus est. Hoc est tamen Filius quod Pater, quia Deus, quia creator, quia

[1] Tr. 1532, "Neque Patris;" B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Neque Pater." In the latter the last letters of "Pater" appear to have been altered, and "enim" has been written above "Neque" by a different hand.

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit "aliquando."

[3] Tr. 1532, "personam nomenque."

[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit "autem."

[5] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "declinantes."

[6] Tr. 1532 omits "quod."

[7] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

omnipotens. Aequalis ergo[1] gloria trinitatis, quia non est major in gloria Pater quam Filius aut Spiritus Sanctus, non est minor[2] gloria Spiritus Sancti quam Patris aut Filii. Item co-aeterna majestas est trinitatis, quia non est anterior Pater Filio aut Spiritu Sancto, non est posterior Spiritus Sanctus Patre aut Filio. Personas dicere in trinitate necessitas fecit disputationis contra hereticos. Nam cum dixeris tres sunt et interrogatus fueris quid sunt tres,[3] nihil omnino respondendum restat nisi personae. Aliud enim,[4] quid respondeas, nihil habebis, quia non potest dicere tres dii aut tres substantiae aut aliquid hujusmodi, quod absit. Dicta est[5] autem persona, quasi per se una eo quod per se sit. Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus inseparabiles sunt etiam in personis. Quia, sicut ubique est Pater, ita[6] ubique Filius, ubique[7] et Spiritus Sanctus. Inseparabile est etiam[8] opus trinitatis; quia quelibet persona, sicut sine aliis personis esse non potest, ita sine aliis non operatur; et nihil seorsum agit inseparabilis caritas. Sequitur.[9] Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis Spiritus Sanctus. Hoc propter necessitatem contra hereticos usurpatum est, qui dissimilem Deo Patri Filium asserebant, dissimilemque Spiritum Sanctum. Nam qualitas de Deo proprie non dicitur, quem, in quantum possumus, intelligere debemus sine qualitate bonum, sine quantitate magnum, sine indigentia creatorem, sine situ presentem, sine habitu omnia continentem, sine loco ubique totum, sine tempore sempiternum, sine ulla sui

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "est."
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "minor est."
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "tres sunt."
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "nam."
[5] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 omit "est."
[6] Tr. 1532 omits "ita."
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits the second "ubique."
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "etiam est."
[9] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

mutatione mutabilia facientem, nihilque pacientem.[1] In nullo ergo dissimilis Patri Filius, in nullo dissimilis Patri et Filio Spiritus Sanctus: quia in quibus est una Deitas, non est ulla diversitas. Sequitur.[2] Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus Spiritus Sanctus. Nihil in trinitate creatum, quia tota trinitas unus est creator. Omnis itaque substantia quae Deus non est, creatura est, et quae creatura non est, Deus est. Nulla igitur differentia est in Deitate trinitatis; quoniam quod Deo minus est, Deus non est. Sequitur.[3] Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus Spiritus Sanctus. Inmensus est Deus trinitatis,[4] quia nulla ratione nulla estimatione metiri valet. Mundo non capitur: sic replet mundum, ut ipse contineat mundum, non contineatur a mundo, sine labore regens, sine onere continens omnia; non tamen per spacia[5] locorum quasi mole diffusus, sed in solo celo totus et in sola terra totus et in parte totus et per cuncta totus; in[6] nullo contentus loco, sed in seipso ubique totus.[7] Ita Pater, ita Filius, ita Spiritus Sanctus; unus Deus trinitas.[8] Est namque ubique, quia nusquam est absens; in seipso autem, quia non continetur eis, quibus presens est, tanquam sine his esse non possit. Qui cum sit ubique totus per Divinitatis presentiam, non est ubique per habitationis gratiam. Unde non dicimus, Pater noster, qui es ubique, cum procul dubio verum sit, sed Pater noster, qui es in celis: in sanctis, videlicet, angelis et sanctis omnibus,[9] in quibus esse dicitur, non solum per

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "patientem."
[2] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[3] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "trinitas."
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "spatia."
[6] For "in" B. M. Addit. 24,902 reads "et."
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "totus ubique."
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "unus Deus trinitas."
[9] For "omnibus" Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 read "hominibus," and rightly.

presentiam suae majestatis, sed etiam per gratiam sue habitationis. Sequitur.[1] Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus; sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus et unus inmensus. In Deitate trinitate quod est esse perpetuum est. Nec Pater unquam fuit sine Filio, quia aeternaliter, id est sine initio, genuit Filium, et sicut semper Deus, ita semper extat[2] Pater: semper quoque Filius cum Patre, quia aeternaliter genitus est a Patre: semper etiam Spiritus Sanctus cum Patre et Filio, quia aeternaliter ex Patre et Filio procedit. Non sunt tamen tres aeterni, nec tres increati, nec tres inmensi; quia totius sanctae trinitatis, sicut una est natura, ita una est increatio, una inmensitas, unaque[3] aeternitas. Sequitur.[4] Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. Omnipotens dicitur Deus, quia omnia potest, non patiendo aliquid, quod non vult, sed faciendo quodcunque vult,[5] sicut scriptum est: Apud Deum autem omnia possibilia sunt. Omnipotens est, quia omnia quae sunt, illius potestate acceperunt ut sint, illius potestate tenentur[6] ne concidant. Hoc Pater, hoc Filius, hoc[7] Spiritus Sanctus. Nec tamen tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens, quia totius sanctae trinitatis, sic est una omnipotentia, sicut una essentia.[8] Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus Spiritus Sanctus: et tamen non tres Dii, sed

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "existit."

[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "que."

[4] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

[5] This is not in the Oratorian Commentary; it seems to be taken from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Civ. Dei,' lib. v. cap. 10: "Dicitur omnipotens faciendo quod vult, non patiendo quod non vult."

[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "continentur."

[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "et."

[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "Sequitur."

unus est Deus. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus Spiritus Sanctus : et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus. Totius sanctae trinitatis una Deitas et una[1] Dominatio. Sciendum vero quod Deus dicitur[2] a se,[3] Dominus ad creaturas quibus dominatur; Deus, quia colendus est, Dominus, quia solus timendus est; Deus religiosorum, Dominus vero servorum. Sequitur.[4] Quia sicut singillatim unam quamque personam Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur ; ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos[5] dicere Catholica religione prohibemur. Unam quamque personam in sancta trinitate singillatim, hoc est singulariter, et Deum et Dominum confiteri oportet. Ita nos dicere fides[6] Christiana compellit. Quia nisi ita dixerimus, Christiani esse non possumus. Et tamen alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Patrem, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Filium, alium Deum aut Dominum dicere Spiritum Sanctum, prohibet nos Catholica religio. Quia, si ita dixerimus, nec Catholici nec religiosi esse poterimus. Sed ut Christiani simus atque[7] Catholici, dicamus vel pocius[8] credamus et Patrem Deum et Filium Deum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum, et simul non tres Deos, sed unum Deum, qui substantia et natura sit veraciter unus. Sequitur. Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus; Filius a Patre solo est, non factus nec creatus, sed genitus; Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus nec creatus nec

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "est."

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "dicatur."

[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902 has rightly, as also the Oratorian Commentary, "ad se."

[4] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Deos ac Dominos."

[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "fides dicere."

[7] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add "religiosi et."

[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "potius."

genitus, sed procedens. Pater a nullo est, quia non habet patrem, de quo sit. Nulla enim omnino[1] res est quę seipsam gignit,[2] ut sit. Filius autem de Patre est, ut sit atque ut illi co-aeternus sit.[3] Cognoscamus itaque Filium Dei Filium Dei esse; cognoscamus a se ipso non esse, sed genitum esse a Patre, Patrem vero ipsum ingenitum esse, a nullo esse, a nullo vitam accepisse.[4] Vita est enim ipse Pater,[5] vita est[6] ipse Filius; sed ille de nullo vita, iste vita de vita.[7] Sed talis qualis illa, tanta quanta illa, hoc omnino quod illa.[8] Filius a Patre solo est genitus; Spiritus autem Sanctus ab utroque, id est Patre et Filio, procedens, Spiritus amborum est. Filius vero solius est Patris. Et hęc[9] est causa, quae distinguit inter nativitatem Filii et processionem Spiritus Sancti. Filius sic est de Patre, quomodo natus, non quomodo datus: Spiritus vero Sanctus sic est de Patre simul et Filio, quomodo datus, non quomodo natus, hoc est, donum amborum. Itaque Filius nascendo procedit, Spiritus vero Sanctus procedendo non nascitur, ne sint duo filii. Nam cum sit et Pater et[10] spiritus, et[11] Filius et[12] spiritus, et Pater sanctus et Filius sanctus, proprie tamen ipse vocatur Spiritus Sanctus, tanquam sanctitas co-essentialis et consubstantialis am-

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "omnino."

[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "gignat."

[3] This is in substance from St. AUGUSTINE, 'in Johannis Evan.' xlviii. 6.

[4] Tr. 1532, "accipere."

[5] Tr. 1532, "Pater ipse."

[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "est."

[7] See St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Trin.' lib. viii. cap. 17.

[8] From "Pater a nullo est, quia" to "illa" is not in the Oratorian Commentary.

[9] Tr. 1532, "hoc."

[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 rightly omit this "et."

[11] Tr. 1532 omits this "et" also.

[12] B. M. Addit. 24,902 has "Filius spiritus," no doubt rightly, omitting the "et."

borum.[1] Sequitur.[2] Unus ergo Pater non tres patres, unus Filius non tres filii, unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres spiritus sancti. Unus est in sancta trinitate tantummodo Pater, qui genuit Filium, unus tantummodo Filius, qui genitus est a Patre; unus tantummodo Spiritus Sanctus, qui ex utroque procedit. Proprium ergo Patris est, quia genuit; proprium Filii, quia genitus est; proprium Spiritus Sancti, quia procedit.[3] Haec sunt relativa nomina, in quibus trinitas dinoscitur: Pater videlicet et[4] Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Quę ideo relativa dicuntur, quia Pater ad alium refertur, hoc est ad Filium: non enim sibi ipsi est Pater, sed alteri, hoc est Filio. Similiter Filius ad Patrem refertur. Sed et Spiritus Sanctus vel donum, quod[5] dicitur, refertur ad Patrem et Filium, a quibus procedit vel datur. Alia ergo sunt nomina substantiae, hoc est unitatis, et alia sunt nomina personarum, hoc est trinitatis. Substantialia, in quacunque persona dicantur, non referuntur ad aliam,[6] sed ad seipsam. Relativa vero semper, ut dictum est, ad invicem referuntur. Dicitur Filius ab apostolo Dei virtus et Dei sapientia. Sed non ita est relativum in eo virtus et sapientia, sicut est quod dicitur Verbum aut Filius. Virtus enim et sapientia in Deo substantia est. Et ita dicitur Filius sapientia Patris, quomodo dicitur lumen Patris; id est, ut, quemadmodum lumen de lumine et utrumque unum lumen, sic intelligatur sapientia de sapientia et utrumque una sapientia. Pater igitur et Filius simul una[7] essentia et una magnitudo et

[1] This passage, from "Nam cum sit" to "amborum," is from St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Civ. Dei,' lib. xi. cap. 24.

[2] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

[3] From "Unus est" to "procedit" is not in the Oratorian Commentary.

[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "et."

[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 for "quod" reads "cum."

[6] Tr. 1532, "alium."

[7] Tr. 1532 omits "simul" and adds "est" after "una."

una virtus et una sapientia. Sed non Pater et Filius simul ambo unum Verbum. Quia non simul ambo unus Filius; sed Filius factus est nobis sapientia a Deo. De qua cum aliquid in scripturis dicitur, Filius nobis insinuatur. Spiritus quoque Sanctus sapientia. Et simul non tres sapientiae, sed una sapientia, Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus. Sequitur.[1] Et in hac trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil majus aut minus, sed totae tres personae co-aeternae sibi sunt et co-aequales. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate[2] veneranda sit. Haec trinitas unus est Deus; et quia unus est, non potest[3] esse diversus. Quia una natura non potest se ipsa esse prior aut posterior, major aut minor. In hac itaque trinitate nihil est prius aut posterius, quia totę tres personae co-ęternae sibi sunt, id est, simul aeternae. Non est Pater prior Filio, non est Filius posterior Patre, non est Spiritus Sanctus posterior Patre et Filio. Sed Pater aeternus sine initio Pater; Filius sine initio Patri co-aeternus; Spiritus Sanctus sine initio Patri et Filio co-aeternus. Aeterna quippe est generatio Patris, aeterna nativitas Filii ex Patre, aeterna processio Spiritus Sancti ex Patre et Filio. Nihil enim[4] in hac trinitate majus aut minus, quia totę tres personae sibi sunt co-aequales, id est, simul aequales. Non ibi est Filius minor[5] Patre, nec Spiritus Sanctus minor Patre et Filio. Sed quantus Pater, tantus Filius, tantus Spiritus Sanctus. Filius per omnia aequalis Patri, Spiritus Sanctus per omnia[6] Patri et Filio co-aequalis. Quapropter qui unam Divinitatem Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti confitemur, diversum in

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "unitas in trinitate et trinitas in unitate."
[3] Tr. 1532 inserts "se ipsa," but a mark has been made under it.
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, for "enim" read "etiam."
[5] Tr. 1532, "major."
[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "per omnia Spiritus Sanctus."

hac trinitate ordinem non recipimus. Quia increata et inaestimabilis trinitas, quae unius[1] est aeternitatis et glorie,[2] nec tempus nec gradum vel posterioris recipit vel prioris. Nescit hic ordinem fides, nescit discretum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti honorem, nec aliquem in Deo invenit gradum. Nusquam secundum, nusquam tertium Deum legimus. Primum legimus, primum ac solum audivimus. Nam et Filius, quamvis ex Patre sit, tamen primum ac principium esse se dicit. Omnimodis ergo et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda est. Quia trinitas[3] est in unitate persona et una est in trinitate substantia. Quoniam unus est Deus, sed tamen trinitas. Nec confuse accipiendum est,[4] quod ait Apostolus: Ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia: nec diis multis, sed ipsi gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.[5] Sequitur.[6] Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate sentiat. Sed necessarium est ad aeternam salutem, ut incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jhesu Christi[7] fideliter credat. Sicut fideliter credenda est Divinitas regnantis, ita fideliter credenda est humanitas salvantis. Quia aequalis periculi est de mysterio incarnationis prave[8] sentire et[9] de Divinitatis archano male[10] intelligere. Nihil enim justius, quam ut salvus non sit, qui salutis mysterio derogare non timuerit. Jhesus nomen est hebreum; interpretatur autem in latino salutaris sive salvator. Christus grece dicitur, quod transfertur in unctus ab unctione, id est, chrismate; hebraice

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "unus."
[2] Tr. 1532, "aeternitatis et gloriae est."
[3] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "trina."
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "est."
[5] "Amen" is in a different hand. This passage, from "Sed Pater aeternus" to "saeculorum," is peculiar to this Commentary. It is not in the Oratorian.
[6] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[7] Tr. 1532 adds "unusquisque."
[8] Tr. 1532, "male."
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "ut."
[10] Tr. 1532, "prave."

vero dicitur Messias. Sequitur.[1] Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jhesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus et homo est. Filius Dei Deus homo factus est, ut in singularitate personae copulans utramque naturam mediator Dei et hominum hominibus appareret, verus Deus, verus homo, unus Christus. Utraque ergo[2] natura in eo est credenda et confitenda, videlicet divina et humana, qui factus est nobis redemptor et redemptio, sacerdos et oblatio. In illo enim nostra portio, quia nostra caro et sanguis, ut, ubi regnat nostra portio, nos quoque glorificemur. Nullum majus donum prestare potuit[3] Deus hominibus, quam quod Verbum suum, per quod condidit omnia, fecit illis caput et illis[4] ei tanquam membra coaptavit, ut esset Filius Dei et[5] Filius hominis, unus Deus cum Patre, unus homo cum hominibus. Sequitur.[6] Deus[7] ex substantia Patris ante saecula, homo[8] ex substantia matris in saeculo natus. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo[9] ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens. Essentialiter natus est de Patre, et essentialiter conceptus natusque de matre, ut esset unius naturę cum Patre et unius naturę cum virgine; consubstantialis Patri secundum Divinitatem, consubstantialis matri secundum humanam infirmitatem; de substantia Patris ante saecula genitus, de substantia matris in saeculo natus; perfectus Deus, quia indissimilis[10] Deo Patri, perfectus quoque homo, quia similis homini matri. Quae mater ita illum salva

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[2] Tr. 1532, for "ergo" has "vero."
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "potuit prestare."
[4] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "illos."
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "et."
[6] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "est."
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "et homo est."
[9] Tr. 1532 adds "est."
[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "non dissimilis."

virginitate genuit, sicut salva virginitate concepit. Verus enim Deus verus factus est homo; quia omnia nostra suscepit, quae in nobis ipse creavit, id est carnem et animam rationalem. Propter quod, perfectum eum Deum et perfectum hominem confitemur.[1] Aequalis Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem. Ideo aequalis et minor, quia Deus et homo,[2] aequalis Patri in forma Dei, sicut Apostolus dicit: Qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo. Minor Patre in forma servi, de qua idem Apostolus continuo subjungit: Sed semet ipsum exinanivit, formam servi accipiens. Unde et ipse Dominus in evangelio aequalem se Patri in Divinitate esse ostendens ait: Ego et Pater unum sumus.[3] Et iterum minorem se Patre in humanitate esse confirmans dicit, quia Pater major me est.[4] Qui, licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus. Non est alter Christus in Deitate et alter in humanitate, quia non sunt duae personae, sed una. Deus enim Verbum non accepit personam hominum[5] sed naturam,[6] ut in singularitate personae tota humanitas suscepta unus Christus sit, et unus Filius Dei atque hominis. In quo sicut duas credimus naturas, ita duas naturales voluntates et duas naturales operationes[7] inseparabiliter, inconfuse, et has duas voluntates, non contrarias, sed pocius humanam ejus

[1] B. M. Addit. 24,902 inserts "Sequitur."

[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add "est."

[3] Tr. 1532, instead of "Ego . . . sumus" has "Ego in Patre et Pater in me est."

[4] From "Ideo aequalis" to "major ne est" is peculiar to this Commentary. It is not in the Oratorian. In substance it is from St. Augustine. . B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "Sequitur."

[5] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "hominis."

[6] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add, as the Oratorian Commentary, "et persona Divinitatis accepit substantiam carnis."

[7] Tr. 1532, instead of "voluntates et duas naturales operationes," has "potentias."

voluntatem subjectam divinae ejus atque omnipotenti voluntati. Nam salvator sicut humanam naturam propterea suscepit, ut salvaret, ita et humanam voluntatem suscipiendo salvavit. Sequitur.[1] Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carnem,[2] sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum. Conversio mutatio dicitur. Non ergo est[3] conversa, id est, mutata Divinitas in carnem; sed manens quod erat suscepit carnem. Humanitas quoque assumpta est in Deum, non consumpta. Homo Deo accessit, Deus a se non recessit. Adquievit esse quod non erat, non desiit esse quod erat. Sequitur.[4] Unus omnino, non confusione substantiae, sed unitate personae. Confusio dicitur permixtio, sicut solent duo liquores immisceri,[5] ut neutrum servet integritatem suam. In Christo ergo non sunt permixte substantiae, quia servat utraque cum alterius communione proprietatem suam in singularitate personae. Sequitur.[6] Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Ut[7] in quolibet homine non est una persona, anima, et anima[8] caro, sed ex anima et carne unus est homo, ita in Christo non sunt duae personae, sed una divina, quae incarnata est. Nam sicut hominis personam gestat anima, quia utique corpus mortuum non dicitur persona sicut nec lapis aut[9] lignum, ita Christi personam gestat Divinitas, assumptrix humanitatis,[10] propter quod utraque substantia dicitur et creditur unicus et

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "carne."
[3] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "est ergo."
[4] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[5] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "ita misceri."
[6] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[7] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Sicut."
[8] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 give the right reading, "alia."
[9] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "nec."
[10] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "Divinitatis;" but it has been underscored, and "humanitatis" written above it by the corrector.

unigenitus Filius Dei. Unde et Verbum propter carnem homo est, et caro propter Verbum Deus est. Sequitur.[1] Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, surrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad caelos, sedet ad dextenam Dei Patris omnipotentis, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Passus est, sed in sola assumpta substantia. Gratia enim[2] pro omnibus[3] gustavit mortem, tradens ei proprium corpus,[4] quamvis naturaliter ipse vita sit et resurrectio mortuorum. Descendit ad inferos, ut morte ineffabili potentia proculcata spoliaret infernum, et antiquorum justorum animas, qui, quamlibet in loco tranquillitatis, ibi tamen detinebantur, ad paradisi amoena reduceret. Tertia die resurrexit[5] a mortuis in eadem carne, qua passus fuerat, ut esset primogenitus a[6] mortuis et primitiae dormientium, et faceret viam humanae naturae ad inmortalitatis recursum. Ascendit ad coelos, quia ideo humiliatus est Deus in homine, ut homo exaltaretur in Deo. Sedet vero ad dexteram Patris, id est, regnat in beatitudine superna.[7] Sedere enim regnare est. Dextera vero Patris beatitudo est sempiterna. Inde venturus est[8] judicare vivos et mortuos; quia visionem humanitatis omnibus presentaturus est, ut in judicio appareat conspicuus in ea forma, qua judicatus est. Vivos autem et mortuos, qui judicandi sunt, eos intelligere debemus, quos dies judicii vivos invenerit, et eos, qui jam ante obierunt. Sequitur.[9] Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis rationem. Adveniente Domino, resuscitantur mortui cum corporibus

[1] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."
[2] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902 add "Dei."
[3] Tr. 1532, "hominibus."
[4] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "corpus proprium."
[5] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "surrexit."
[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "ex."
[7] Tr. 1532, "sempiterna."
[8] B. M. Addit. 24,902 omits "est."
[9] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

suis, ut unusquisque in eo corpore, quo bona vel mala gessit, reddat[1] rationem gestorum suorum, et in eo corpore, per quod operatus est, recipiat[2] retributionem factorum suorum.[3] Sequitur.[4] Et, qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, qui vero mala, in ignem aeternum. Tunc enim[5] justi non solum in animabus beatificati, sed etiam in corporibus glorificati, possidebunt vitam aeternam, absque ullo metu mortis cum jucunditate[6] et gaudio inmortalitatis. Tunc etiam hi, qua[7] mala egerunt, illo extremo judicio mittentur in ignem aeternum: qui ignis ideo dicitur aeternus, quia eis aeternos exhibet cruciatus,[8] et nunquam finietur, nec eos cruciare cessabit. Multi egerunt mala, qui[9] non ibunt in ignem aeternum, quia ante mortem suam veram penitudinem de peccatis suis gesserunt; sed hic de illis dicitur, qui mala egerunt, et sine emendatione in malis perseveraverunt. Sequitur. Haec est fides catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit. Fideliter credamus, ut in fide non erremus, firmiter[10] credamus ut de creditis non dubitemus, si ad aeternam salutem volumus pervenire, ubi cum angelis Deum laudantes de illius laude vivamus, de illius laude et nos gloriemur. Amen.[11]

[1] Tr. 1532 adds "uni Deo."

[2] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "retribuat."

[3] From "et in" to "suorum" is omitted from the text of Tr. 1532, but is inserted in the margin.

[4] Tr. 1532 omits "Sequitur."

[5] Tr. 1532, for "enim" reads "vero."

[6] B. M. Addit. 24,902, "jocunditate."

[7] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, "qui."

[8] Tr. 1532, "eos cruciet eterno cruciatu."

[9] Tr. 1532 adds "et."

[10] Tr. 1532 and B. M. Addit. 24,902, for "firmiter" read "fideliter."

[11] B. M. Addit. 24,902 adds "Explicit Expositio."

D.

Preface to the Commentary on the Athanasian Creed edited by Mai, 'Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio,' tom. ix. p. 396, from a manuscript at Rome, and entitled, "Symboli Athanasiani explanatio:"—

Injunxistis mihi illud fidei opusculum, quod passim in ecclesiis recitatur, quodque a presbyteris nostris usitatius, quam cetera opuscula, meditatur, sanctorum patrum sententiis quasi exponendo dilatarem, consulentes parrochiae nostrae presbyteris, qui sufficienter habere libros nullo modo possunt, sed vix et cum labore sibi psalterium, lectionarium, vel missalem adquirunt, per quos divina sacramenta vel officia agere queant; et, quia cum inopia librorum plerisque neque studium legendi aut discendi suffragetur, idcirco vultis ut saltim hanc fidei expositionem meditari cogantur ut aliquanto amplius de Deo possint sapere et intellegere. Quia maxima omnium ista pernicies est, quod sacerdotes, qui plebis Dei docere debuerant, ipsi Deum ignorare inveniuntur: nam, sicut laico blasphemia, ita sacerdoti voluntaria Dei ignoratio in sacrilegium deputatur. Hoc namque opusculum non quidem est altis sermonibus obscurum, nec laciniosis sententiis arduum, cum paene plebeio conscriptum sit sermone; sed tamen si adjunguntur ei pro locis necessariis tractatorum[1] fidei verba, plurimum juvat ad fidei notitiam. Traditur enim quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrinae ecclesiae antestite sit editum: ita namque semper eum vidi praetitulatum etiam in veteribus codicibus; et puto quod idcirco tam plano et brevi sermone tunc traditum fuerit, ut omnibus catholicis etiam minus eruditis tutamentum defensionis prestaret adversus illam tempestatem, quam ventus con-

[1] According to a marginal note, the MS. has "tractorum."

trarius, hoc est diabolus, excitavit per Arrium. Qua tempestate navicula, hoc est Christi ecclesia, in medio mari, videlicet mundo, diu tantis fluctibus est vexata, sed non soluta aut summersa. Quia ille imperavit vento et mari, qui se eidem ecclesie promisit usque ad finem saeculi affuturum. Quicunque ergo ex hujus maris fluctubus salvari desiderat, et in profundum abyssi, aeternam videlicet perditionem, demergi pavescit, teneat integre et inviolabiliter fidei veritatem. Ita enim incipit ipsum opusculum: Quicunque vult, etc.

E.

Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in MS. 1012 Latin, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It commences on f. 59 and ends on f. 66 :—

Incipit Fides chatolica cum exposicione. Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat chatolicam fidem. Chatolica dicitur universalis: et quid universalis, nisi quod universa ecclesia debet tenere ? Fides dicitur ab eo quod fies in dies.[1] Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit. Id[2] est, unus quisque singulis[3] per se. Integram inviolatamque servaverit, hoc est, incorruptam: quod nihil inde minuas, nihil addas. Absque dubio, hoc est, sine dubio in aeternam[4] peribit Fides autem chatolica haec est aequalis, ut unum Deum in trinitate et trinitatem

[1] "Fides" is similarly derived from "fieri" by St. AUGUSTINE, 'Ser.' lxxxii. 22: "Ipsa fides in Latino sermone dicitur appellata, quia fit quod dicitur." Similarly in 'Sermon' cclxiv. in the appendix to his works, attributed by the Benedictine editors on the authority of several manuscripts, and by Baluze, to Cæsarius of Arles: "Fides a fit, id est ab eo quod fiat, nomen accepit."

[2] *H* appears to have been written just before "Id," and afterwards erased. Clearly the scribe at first intended to write "Hoc."

[3] So the MS.

[4] So the MS. "Perditionem" may be omitted.

in unitate veneremur. Quid est hoc nisi ut unum Deum credamus in tres personas, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum?[1] Pro quid dicitur .persona? Qui[2] per se sonat. Quando dicis Patrem, personam dicis: quando dicis Filium, personam dicis: quando dicis Spiritum Sanctum, personam dicis, quia unus quisque per se sonat. Et istas tres personas in unitatem veneremur, hoc est, adoremus. Sequitur. Neque confundentes personas. Qui dicit, ipse est Pater, ipse Filius, ipse et Spiritus Sanctus, confundat[3] personas, qui de tres[4] unam facit. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia et Spiritus Sancti. Quia superius dixi, et Pater per se, et Filius per se, et Spiritus Sanctus per se, secundum personas dico. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, aequalis gloria, quo-aeterna majestas. Nullus major, nullus minor, sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt et quo-aequales. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Id est, secundum divinitatem aequales sibi sunt. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus. Dicuntur increati, quia nunquam fuerunt creati, quia nec initium habent nec finem. Sed tamen angeli creati sunt, et ominis[5] anima creatura est, et homo creatura est, et omnem rem

[1] The accusative where we should have expected the ablative. So we have afterwards: "in carnem animam rationabilem abuisse," "in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, resurrexit," and "tres personas in unitatem," and several times "pro quid." There are several instances of the same peculiarity, as I have noticed, in the first Commentary on the Athanasian Creed in Troyes, 804.

[2] Probably for "quia." The last letter of a word is frequently omitted in this MS.

[3] So the MS.

[4] So we have afterwards, "de tres personas unam faciamus" and "una de istas tres personas."

[5] It will be observed that *h* is frequently omitted in this MS. at the commencement of a word. This is particularly the case with "habere."

quamcunque vides, creatura est, et tamen abent[1] inicium, sed non abent finem. Inmensus Pater, inmensus Filius, inmensus Spíritus Sanctus. Quid hoc? Inmensus dicitur, quia nulla illum potest mensura, quia de ipso scriptum est: Ego celum et terram implebo; et alibi, Celum palmum[2] mitigens[3] et tram[4] pugillo concludens[5] et rursum scriptum est: Caelum mihi sedis[6] est, terra autem scabellum pedum eorum.[7] Quem tamen non caelum, non terram,[8] non mare illum potest capere, quia nisi ille ibi est, et nullum modo constare potuissent. Sequitur. Aeternus Pater, aeternus Filius, aeternus et Spiritus Sanctus. Aeternus dicit,[9] quia semper in aeternitate est ante omnia secula et in finem seculorum. E[10] tamen non tres aeterni, sed unus aeternus. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres inmensi, sed unus increatus et unus inmensus. Ut hoc cognoscas, quia secundum illas personas hoc dictum est. Similiter omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus. Quid est omnipotens, nisi quia semper per omnia potens est? Et qui potest diabolum vincere, nisi ille solus, quia adligavit fortem, id est, diabolo vasa ejus diripuit, quos de potestatem[11] ejus eripuit? Sicut apostolus Paulus dicit:

[1] For "habent." [2] So the MS. [3] For "mitigans."

[4] For "terram." The mark of contraction over the *r* has been omitted inadvertently.

[5] The passage quoted is probably Is. xi. 12. It will be observed that in none of these quotations the text of the Vulgate is strictly adhered to. [6] For "sedes."

[7] For "meorum," the initial *m* having been omitted. Is. lxvi. 1.

[8] So the MS.

[9] For "dicitur," the mark of contraction being omitted inadvertently.

[10] Apparently *e* for "et," but an erasure seems to have been made on each side of the letter.

[11] The mark of contraction over the final *e* in "potestate," indicative of the omission of *m*, is perfectly clear. It has been already noticed that the MS. contains several instances of the same solecism.

Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens. Quare dicit: non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens, nisi quia non potest unus plusquam alius, sed tote tres una voluntate? Que non vult Pater, ne[1] Filius; que non vult Filius, ne Pater nec Spiritus Sanctus: sed una est voluntas illorun. Ob hanc causa[2] dicitur: non tres omnipotentis,[3] sed unus omnipotens. Sequitur. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus. Ergo tres Deos colis? Absit. Quare ergo dicitur: tres Dei, nisi quia secundum illas personas hoc dictum est? Quia Pater Deus, Filius Deus, et Spiritus Sanctus Deus. Et tamen non tres Dii, sed unus est Deus. Quare quia una est illorum Divinitas, aequalis gloria, quo-aeterna majestas. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus. Sicut superius dixi, ita et istud sic est. Sed tamen querendum est nobis, pro[4] quid Deus dicitur, vel pro quid Dominus, nisi quia aperte datur intellegi quia Deus dicitur secundum Divinitatem, et Dominus secundum humanitatem. Aliter adhuc intellegi potest; quia Deus dicitur[5] ad providendum, et Dominus nominatur ad dominandum.[6] Sed, sicut in aevangelio legimus de illo dissipulo Thomas, quando iterum veniens Dominus apparuit, et non credente discipulo manus et latus ostendit, et ille exclamavit, Dominus meus et Deus meus; quid aliud nisi quod Deum confessus est ante secula et hominem factum in finem seculorum. Sequitur. Quia sicut singilatim, id est singulariter, unamquamque personam et Deum

[1] For "nec."

[2] Clearly for "causam," the mark of contraction being omitted, probably through inadvertence.

[3] For "omnipotentes."

[4] So the MS.

[5] Here there is an erasure in the MS.

[6] The initial letter in "dominandum" appears to have been added by a corrector.

et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur, hoc est admonemur sive cogimur, ita tres Deos aut tres Dominos dicere chatolica relegione proibemur. Quid aliut nisi que detestamur aut vitamus? Pater a nullo est factus nec creatus nec genitus. Hic aetiam queri potest, quid abet Pater qui no[1] abet Filius, aut quid habet Filius quod[2] non abet Pater, aut quid abet Spiritus Sanctus que nec Pater abit[3] nec Filius. Sic dictum est: Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus: Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus, sed procedens; quo-aeternae sibi et quo-aequales. Sed tamen querendum nobis est, quid est quod Filius a Patre genitus dicitur, nisi quod Filius Verbum Patris vocatur; sicut Iohannis aevangelista dicit: In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat Verbum? In principio erat Verbum, dicit, hoc est Filius; et Verbum erat apud Deum, vides quomodo declarat; et Deus erat Verbum, quia quando dixit, faciamus hominem ad himaginem et similitudinem nostram, non dixit, quia facio ad similitudinem meam, sed faciamus, id est ad Filium et Spiritum Sanctum hoc dictum est.[4] Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti. Absit, ut a nobis hoc esse credatur, ut de tres personas unam faciamus. Et in a[5] trinitate nihil prius aut posterius nihil majus au[6] minus, sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt et quo-aequales, id est in istas tres personas nullus est minor[7]

[1] So the MS. [2] The MS. gives an abbreviation—*q*:

[3] For "habet."

[4] On the passage in the first chapter of Genesis, St. AUGUSTINE says: "Ad insinuandam scilicet, ut ita dicam, pluralitatem personarum propter Patrem Filium et Spiritum Sanctum."—'De Genesi ad Litteram,' cap. xix.

[5] Clearly for "hac." [6] So the MS.

[7] So the MS.; a remarkable instance of carelessness on the part of the copyist.

nullus est minor, sed tote tres persone quo-aeterne sibi sunt, ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate veneranda sit. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de trinitate senciat. Sed necessarium est, qui vult ad aeternam salutem pervenire, ut Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum verum hominem esse fateatur.[1] Quia sunt nonnulli, qui eum fuisse credunt purum hominem in carnem; sed alii dicunt, quia fantassima; alia[2] dicunt, qui[3] patrem carnalem abuisset. Sed non est nobis hoc si[4] credendum. Credamus eum purum hominem non fuisse, et in carnem animam rationabilem abuisse. Et sitivit et esurivit et lassavit et juxta carnis infirmitatem veros dolores sustinuit. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jhesus Christus, Dei Filius, et Deus pariter et homo est. Quomodo hoc potest esse? Ipse insinuat, cum subjugit.[5] Audi quid dicit. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante secula genitus, et homo est ex substantia matris natus in seculo: perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima racionabile[6] et humana carne subsistens. Quid aliut nisi ut eum verum hominem credas secundum umanitatem?[7] Sequitur. Et qualis[8] Patri secundum Divinitatem, minor Patri secundum humanitatem. Hoc et etiam querendum est, qur[9] Filius junior

[1] Probably the words "verum Deum et" have been omitted inadvertently after "Christum." So it would appear from what follows.

[2] So the MS.

[3] Clearly for "quia," the final letter being omitted, as is often the case in this MS.

[4] Clearly for "sic."

[5] So apparently the MS. for "subjungit."

[6] For "racionabili."

[7] The British Museum MS. Reg. 2, B. V. has this for one of its notes, adding, no doubt rightly: "et esse verum Deum secundum divinitatem."

[8] So the MS., clearly by an error of the copyist for "aequalis."

[9] So the MS.

esse Patri credatur? Superius dictum est, quia Filius aequalis est Patri, id est, secundum suam Divinitatem. Unde est minor Patri tantum solum ex illam carnem[1] quam adsupsit.[2] Quia enim caeli rex terram nostram carnis adsumpsit, infirmitatem nostram illa jam angelica celsitudo non dispicit. Hinc est, quod ante redemtoris adventum angeli ab omnibus adorantur et tacent. Iohannes vero in apochalipsin angelum adorare volunt.[3] Sed tamen hisdem angelus, ne se debeto adorare, compescit dicens: Vide ne feceris, conservus tuus sum et fratum[4] tuorum. Quia enim secundum umanitatem: quia nec Pater adsumpsit carnem, nec Spiritus Sanctus, nisi tantum Filius. Ob hanc causa[5] est minor Patri. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus. Nondut[6] hoc credas, quae[7] illic humanitas non sit cum Divinitate, sicut[8] illa Divinitas et illa humanitas in unum sibi sunt. Audi qui[9] dicit. Nam sicut anima racionabilis et

[1] So clearly the MS., which has "illa carne," with the mark of contraction over the last letter of each word, indicative of the omission of the concluding *m*. I have already noticed the occurrence in this MS. of a similar barbarism—the accusative case after the preposition *de*.

[2] Clearly for "adsumpsit," the mark of contraction over the letter *u* being omitted probably through inadvertence. It is inserted in the same word shortly after.

[3] So the MS. The printed text of St. Gregory has "voluit."

[4] So the MS.

[5] So the MS., the mark of contraction being omitted.

[6] So the MS., apparently for "non duo ut," the two first words being repeated from the previous sentence, the *o* in "duo" omitted in accordance with the common practice of the copyist to omit the final letter, and the double *u* combined into one. The passage appears as one of the notes, or glosses, in Reg. 2, B. V., and it there commences with the words "Non ut hoc."

[7] So the MS. Reg. 2, B. V. reads "quia."

[8] Reg. 2, B. V. reads, for "sicut," "sed et," no doubt rightly.

[9] Clearly for "quia."

caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Nam sicut homo unus, qui tamen ex duabus substanciis consta,[1] ex corpore videlicet et anima, sed tamen unus homo est; similiter et Christus ex duabus substanciis constat, Deitatem et umanitatem.[2] Non oc[3] credendum est, que naturam nostram, quod[4] caeli rex adsumpsit super se elevata[5] conspiciunt, adorare[6] sibi et pertimescunt.[7] Sicut tament[8] superius dictum est, nihil credas Filio[9] minorem esse Patri, nisi solum illa Divini-

[1] Clearly for "constat."

[2] So the MS. Compare with this passage St. AUGUSTINE, 'Tract. in Johan. Evan.' lxxviii. sect. 3: "Agnoscamus geminam substantiam Christi, divinam scilicet qua æqualis est Patri, humanam qua major est Pater. Utrumque autem simul non duo, sed unus est Christus; ne sit quaternitas, non trinitas Deus. Sicut enim unus est homo anima rationalis et caro, sic unus est Christus Deus et homo."

[3] For "hoc."

[4] So the MS.

[5] Clearly for "elevatam," the mark of contraction over the last letter having been omitted inadvertently.

[6] Apparently for "adorari."

[7] From "sed" to "pertimescunt" is extremely difficult to read in the MS., the writing having become very faint, and some words all but obliterated. The whole passage bears an obvious resemblance to the following in St. Gregory the Great:—"Quia enim cæli rex terram nostre carnis assumpsit, infirmitatem nostram illa jam angelica celsitudo non despicit. . . . Hinc est enim quod Loth et Josue angelos adorant, nec tamen adorare prohibentur. Johannes vero in Apocalypsi sua adorare Angelum voluit; sed tamen idem hunc Angelus, ne se debeat adorare, compescuit, dicens: Vide ne feceris, conservus enim tuus sum et fratrum tuorum. Quid est quod ante Redemptoris adventum angeli ab hominibus adorantur et tacent, postmodum vero adorari refugiunt, nisi quod naturam nostram, quam prius despexerant, postquam super se assumptam conspiciunt, prostratam sibi videre pertimescunt?"—St. GREGORY, 'in Evan. Hom.' viii.

[8] So the MS., probably for "tamen ut."

[9] So the MS.

tas non adjungit[1] ad illa[2] humanitatem, quae[3] illa Divinitas sit per se, et illa humanitas per se. Non sic: sed ulla[4] Divinitas et ulla umanitas in unum sunt. Sequitur. Unus autem non conversione Divinitatis in carne, sed adsumpsione umanitatis in Deo. Una de istas tres personas, idem vero Christus, non ideo conversus est in carnem, ut suam Divinitatem perderet in colum;[5] sed adsumpsit carnem, ut Deus esset secundum Divinitatem, et Dominus secundum humanitatem. Unus omnino non confusione substanciae, sed unitatem[6] persone. Id est, non est confusa substancia Christi, quae[7] abebat cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto, sed equaliter sibi sunt. Nam sicut anima racionabilis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus. Qualis Christus, qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad infernum, resurrexit a mortuis. Nam querendum est, quum ad illum latronem, qui crucem[8] suspensus est, dixit: Amen dico tibi, odie mecum eris in paradiso; et rursum dicunt aevangelia; Inclinato capite tradidit spiritum; et hic dicit: Statym descendit ad inferos; quomodo hoc potuit facere? Num quod divisa fuit amina Christi? Quid aliut intellegit[9] debet, nisi de illius Divinitate, que inseparabilis est Patri et Spiritu Sancto, hic dictum est: Amen dico tibi, hodie mecum erit[10] in

[1] Apparently for "adjungitur," the mark of contraction being omitted inadvertently.

[2] Clearly for "illam," the mark of contraction being omitted inadvertently.

[3] It is noticeable that in several instances "quae" or "que" occurs in the sense of "quod."

[4] So the MS.

[5] If "colum" is the true reading, as it appears to be, the sense of the passage must be that the divinity of our Lord was not lost at His Incarnation, by being *strained* out, so to speak.

[6] So the MS., the mark of contraction being placed over the *e* in "unitate."

[7] So the MS.

[8] So the MS.

[9] So the MS., clearly for "intelligi."

[10] So the MS.

paradiso? Et illa anima simplex descendit ad inferos, ad alias animas liberandas. Et postquam eas inde liberavit, stim[1] rediit ad corpus suum; et in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, resurexit;[2] et in aevangelio legimus, quod multa corpora sanctorum, qui dormierant, resurrexerunt, et venierunt in sanctam civitatem, et aparuerunt multis. Quid hoc voluit Christus facere, quod tunc corpora sanctorum resurrexerunt cum illo pariter, nisi quia ut perfeccius crederetur, quae et ipse resurexit in eam carnem, que prius fuerat, qui et alias sicut[3] resurgere facit? Et, post apparuerunt, redierunt in eorum sepulcra. Ascendit ad celis;[4] sedet ad dextera[5] Patris. Inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos. Vivos dicit qui in carne inveniendi sunt, et mortuos dicit, quorum jam ossa per eorum sepulcra consistunt. Sicut illa tuba magna fuerit cantura, et vox de celo audita fuerit dicens: Surgite, surgite; tam omnes mortui et vivi corpora sua incorruptibiles accipiunt et resurgunt. Sed tamen illi vivi, qui tunc inventi fuerint, non moriunt;[6] sed in eorum locum, ubi unus quisque stat, carnem illam corruptibilem, que abent, mutata incorruptibilem,[7] sed tamen animam suam non exiendo corpus suum. Unde scriptum est: Tam justorum, quam injustorum, caro incorruptibiliter resurgit uut[8] penam possit suffer

[1] Evidently for "statim." [2] So the MS.

[3] Possibly "se ipsum" is omitted.

[4] There are instances of this barbarism in the rubrics of the Utrecht Psalter: "Canticum Moysi ad Filiis Israhel," "Hymnum ad Matutinis."

[5] The mark of contraction over the last letter has doubtless been omitted inadvertently.

[6] No doubt the mark of contraction for the termination *ur* has been omitted inadvertently.

[7] Probably the mark of contraction over the final *a* in "mutata," and the preposition *in* before "incorruptibilem," have been omitted inadvertently, so that the text should be "mutatam in incorruptibilem." [8] So apparently the MS., obviously for "ut."

rere[1] pro peccatis vel pro[2] in aeterna gloria manere pro meritis.[3] Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere abent cum corporibus suis, et reddituri sunt de factis propriis racionem. Et, qui bona aegerunt, ibunt in vitam aeternam, et qui male in ignum[4] aeternum. Unde nos Dominus pro sua pietate eripere dignetur. Haec est fides catholica, id est universalis. Nam nisi quisque fideliter et[5] firmiterque crediderit, salvus esse non poterit.[6]

[1] So apparently the MS., clearly for "sufferre."

[2] The copyist evidently intended at first to write "pro meritis," but finding himself in error, did not add the latter word; and afterwards neglected to erase the former word which he had written by mistake.

[3] The commentator is evidently quoting the following passage in the 'Liber de Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis,' commonly, but upon uncertain grounds, attributed to Gennadius:—"Eadem caro corruptibilis, quae cadit, tam justorum quam injustorum incorruptibilis resurgit, quae vel pœnam sufferre possit pro peccatis aut in gloria aeterna manere pro meritis." So the passage is printed in the appendix to St. Augustine: MIGNE, 'Patrologiæ,' tom. xlii. p. 1215; but a MS. in the British Museum, Addit. 19,725, which contains a copy of that exposition of doctrine, gives some variety of reading: "Caro" is inserted after "injustorum," "ut" is read for "quae," "penas" for "penam," sufficere" for "sufferre," "aut" for "vel." It will be observed that some of these readings are followed by the Commentary. In the B. M. MS. the above-mentioned document is entitled, "Doctrina Ecclesiastica," and is not assigned to any author. It is remarkable that it does not maintain the view, in support of which it appears to be here alleged, but rather favours the opinion broached by St. Augustine—but only as a conjecture—that the quick at Christ's coming shall undergo a momentary death (St. AUGUSTINE, 'De Civ. Dei,' lib. xx. cap. 20). It asserts, however, that either opinion may be held without heresy. The passage quoted, it is obvious, merely maintains the identity of the risen body; the quotation therefore is inapposite.

[4] So the MS.

[5] So the MS.

[6] The last three words have been rendered illegible by a note written over them, A.D. 119.

F.

The text of Fortunatus's Commentary on the Athanasian Creed, as it appears in the Latin manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, numbered 1008, 2826, and 17,448, collated with the same text in the manuscript of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, marked "Junius, 25."

The readings of the three Paris MSS. are denoted respectively by P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448. The lines given for reference are those of Dr. Swainson's edition; see his 'Nicene and Apostles' Creeds,' pp. 436–442.

P. 1008, Incipit expositio super fidem catholicam. P. 2826 and P. 17,448, Incipit expositio super fide catholica.

L. 2, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, credentia catholica. Catholica;[1] l. 3, P. 1008, recte tanquam; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, universa ecclesia; l. 6, P. 1008, confundantes; ll. 8 and 9, P. 1008, confundam personas qui tres personas omnino sunt; l. 9, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, personae omnino; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, est ergo gignens; l. 10, P. 1008, et procedens; l. 11, P. 2826, qui a patre. L. 14, P. 1008, Spiritu oris; ll. 14 and 15, P. 1008, ubi singulari. L. 15, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, Spiritus ejus dicitur; l. 16, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, virtus eorum dicitur; l. 18, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, quia sicut tres personas; P. 1008, sic tres personas; l. 19, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, sic tres substantias; l. 20, P. 17,448, adhum minorem; l. 21, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, patris et filii eum administratorem esse; P. 1008, eum administratorem; l. 22, P. 1008, and P. 17,448, toto tres; ll. 22 and 23, P. 1008, in substantiam deitatis. L. 23, P. 1008, Alia est enim patris; l. 24, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, alia est persona filii; ll. 24 and 25, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, a patre solo genitus est; P. 1008, solo

[1] In the lattor, the first "catholica" has been eràsed.

est genitus; l. 25, P. 2826, alia et filii et spiritus sancti; P. 17,448, alia filii et spiritus sancti;[1] ll. 25 and 26, P. 2826, qui a patre et filio procedens est; P. 17,448, quia a patre et filio procedens est;[2] P. 1008, spiritus sanctus a patre et filio procedens est; l. 26, P. 1008, filii una est; ll. 27 and 28, P. 1008, Equalis gloria, id est claritas. Claratas[3] sive potestas; l. 28, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, claritas sive potestas; l. 29, P. 2826, talis spiritus; l. 30, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, increatus spiritus; l. 31, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, inmensus spiritus; l. 32, P. 1008, id est inmensurabilis, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, est et incircumscriptus; l. 34, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, aeternus spiritus; l. 37, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, omnipotens spiritus, P. 2826 and P. 17,448, omnipotens dictus eo; l. 39, P. 1008, qui est quod; ll. 40 and 41, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, veritas est mori; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, perennis. est. et si hoc potuisset, omnipotens non fuisset. Ita. P. 1008, perhennis; ll. 42 and 43, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, filius deus spiritus;[4] ll. 44 and 45, P. 1008, nomen patris. pater filii. filius et spiritus sancti. spiritus sanctus; l. 46, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, dominus spiritus; l. 47, P. 1008, omnium est dominator; l. 48, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, distincte; P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, personam deum; ll. 49 and 50, P. 1008, qui est pater; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, quid est pater; ll. 50 and 51, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, si me interrogaveris quid est filius, ego dico;[5] l. 52, P. 1008, et his tribus personis; l. 53, P. 2826, and P.

[1] Originally; but "filii" has been erased.

[2] The *a* in "quia" seems a later addition.

[3] A corrector has marked the second *a*, obviously written by inadvertence, in the word "claratas."

[4] "Et" was written originally before "spiritus" in P. 17,448, but a line has been drawn through it.

[5] In P. 17,44[8], two dots have been placed over and under "me."

17,448, sed in his; P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, sicut jam supra dictum est; l. 54, P. 1008, tres patris; l. 55, P. 1008, quia semper pater; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, quia pater; l. 56, P. 1008, P. 2826, and 17,448, quia filius; l. 57, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, quia spiritus sanctus; l. 58, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, sanctus nec aliquando pater; ll. 60 and 61, P. 1008, sicut numquam fuit pater sine filio. sic numquam filius sine patre. et sic numquam; P. 2826, filius sine patre, sic numquam fuit pater et filius sine spiritu sancto;[1] l. 64, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, una deitas; P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, apostolo dicente atque docente; ll. 65 and 66, P. 1008, as comparationes; ll. 66 and 67, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, calor et tria sunt vocabula et tria unum; l. 68, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, tria haec vocabula res una esse dinoscitur. P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, Ita pater; ll. 69 and 70, P. 1008, tres persone et individua unitas; l. 70, P. 1008, de terraena; P. 1008, fluvius, fons; l. 71, P. 1008, itemque sunt; P. 1008, tria unum; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, itemque vocabula et tria unum; l. 72, P. 1008, substantia et deitas unum est; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, substantia et deitas una est; l. 73, P. 17,448, credamus quia;[2] ll. 73 and 74, P. 1008, and P. 2826, dominus ihesus christus; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, ihesus christus. ihesus; ll. 75 and 76, P. 1008, dicitur quod salvat populum suum; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, salvator dicitur eo quod; l. 76, P. 1008, sancto divitus sit delibutus; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, sancto divinitus sit delibutus; ll. 76 and 77, P. 1008, in ipsius persona; l. 77, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, persona; ll. 77 and 78, P. 1008, super me et

[1] A note on the word "pater" has been added at the bottom of the page, apparently in the same hand: "Sine filio sic et numquam fuit pater." These words, therefore, seem to have been omitted inadvertently.

[2] "Et confiteamur" has been added in the margin, apparently in the same hand.

cetera; l. 78, P. 1008, Ita psalmus de ipso christo domino dicit unxit. P. 2826 and P. 17,448, Ita psalmus de christo domino dicit unxit; l. 79, P. 1008, deus et homo est,[1] P. 2826 and P. 17,448, deus pater et;[2] l. 80, P. 1008, ab uno; P. 1008, de umo terrae; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, de humo terrae; l. 82, P. 1008, deus deo; l. 84, P. 1008, per omnia quod est pater quod est pater in substantia hoc es et filius; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, per omnia id est quod pater; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, hoc et filius; l. 86, P. 2826, quaeratur aliquis;[3] P. 17,448, queratur aliquis; P. 1008, quomodo genuit filium, quod et angeli nesciunt; l. 87, P. 1008, incognitum est. P. 1008, Unde de hisdem eximius; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, unde hisdem eximius; ll. 88 and 89, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, ac si dixisset angelorum nullus prophetarum nemo; l. 89, P. 2826, instimabilis; P. 17,448, inestimabilis; P. 1008, servulis; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, servis; l. 90, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, et pariter diligendus; ll. 91 and 92, P. 1008, Dei filium verbum patris caro factum ex utero virginis; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, verbum patris caro factum est; l. 93. P. 2826, and P. 17,448, factum est ex utero virginis veram; l. 94, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, et de utero virginale verus; l. 95, P. 1008, in seculo natus est salva virginitatis gratia quia genuit et virgo; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, in seculo natus est salva virginitatis gratia, quia mater quae genuit et virgo; l. 96, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, permansit in secula. Id est, in isto; P. 1008, in sexto miliario; l. 97, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, Christus deus unus; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, ipse est virginis; l. 100, P. 1008, ingressa est; l. 101, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, id est dei filius; P. 1008,

[1] Some word seems to have been written originally after "deus," which is followed by a lacuna with evident marks of erasure.

[2] In P. 2826, an attempt has been made to erase "pater."

[3] So clearly it was written originally, but the termination *ur* has been erased.

P. 2826, and P. 17,448, sicut supra diximus ut deitas; P. 1008, ut humanitas; l. 102, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, matris filius est; l. 103, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, homo. Id est verus deus et verus homo. ex; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, apolonaris; l. 104, P. 1008, per animas; l. 105, P. 1008, per evangelica auctoritate; P. 2826, per evangelii;[1] P. 17,448, per evangelium; P. 1008, convictus. Habuit; l. 106, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, rationabilem; ll. 106 and 107, P. 1008, Et contrario iste dixit; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, et e contrario iste dicit; l. 107, P. 1008, rationabile; P. 1008, subsistens; l. 112, P. 1008, sed una persona; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, sed una est persona; l. 114, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, incommutabilis; l. 115, P. 1008, unus ideo; l. 116, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, esse homo quod; P. 1008, antea non erat; l. 117, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, quia inmutabilis in aeternum permanet; l. 121, P. 17,448, una esse; l, 122, P. 1008, fuit unitas. Ita; ll. 122 and 123, P. 1008, humane vera;[2] l. 123, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, maneat; ll. 123 and 124, P. 1008, trinitas propter humane carnis dicatur; ll. 124 and 125, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, absit a fidelium cordibus vel sensibus dici aut cogitare; ll. 126 and 127, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, anima rationale; ll. 127 and 128, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, Etsi dei filius; ll. 128 and 129, P. 1008, nostrae redemptionis condicione; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, carnem redemptionis conditionem; l. 129, P. 1008, natura; l. 130, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, quasi; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, inmundum; l. 131, P. 1008, purgat nullatemus quo inquinat; ll. 131 and 132, P. 1008, sarcina que nostra humanitate; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, sarcina quam nostra humanitate; ll. 132 and 133, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, nequaquam coinquinavit se, nostrae naturae carnem; P.

[1] "Evangelium" seems to have been written originally.

[2] A cross has been made at "humane," and "nature" has been written in the margin.

1008, sed in nostrae naturae carnem quem adsumpsit;[1] l. 133, P. 1008, et maculis; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, purgavit aeternam maculis; l. 134, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, aut vitiorum; ll. 136 and 137, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, portavit; l. 138, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, mundi. sed; P. 1008, abstolleret; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, abstoleret; l. 139, P. 1008, sacramenta; P. 2826, and P. 17,448, gratia a sacramento; l. 140, P. 1008, P. 2826 and P. 17,448, condonavit. Passus; ll. 141 and 142, P. 1008, quod est humana natura; l. 144, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, tenebantur; l. 145, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, vinculis peccati absolutis; P. 1008, absolutis; ll. 145 and 146, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, de eadem captivitatem;[2] l. 146, P. 1008, infernale; ll. 146 and 147, P. 1008, et perpetuam vitam gaudia; l. 147, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, reliquis; ll. 147 and 148, P. 1008, super originalem peccatum principalia culpa comiserant;[3] l. 148, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, principalem culpam commiserunt; P. 1008, ut serit; P. 17,448, poenale peccato; l. 150, P. 1008, mors tua Christus; ll. 150 and 151, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, inimica mortem; l. 152, P. 1008, morsit inferni; l. 153, P. 1008, pro criminalibus peccatis; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, principalibus criminis; l. 154, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, primogeniti; l. 155, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, ipse primogenitor; ll. 155 and 156, P. 1008, a mortuis surrexit; l. 156, P. 1008, multas sanctorum dormientium corpora surrexerunt; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, multa sanctorum dormientium corpora; ll. 156 and 157, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, sicut evangelica auctoritas; l. 157, P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, qui membra; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, sunt. Continuo; l. 160, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, prius sub peccato

[1] *In* before "nostre" appears to be a subsequent insertion.

[2] In P. 2826, "captivitatem" was evidently written originally, but the *m* has been erased.

[3] The *m* in "originalem" looks like an after-addition.

venundata fuerat; l. 161, P. 1008, eaque redemptam; P. 2826 and P. 17,448 redemptam; l. 162, P. 1008, caelestem patriae; P. 2826 and P. 17,448, caelestis patriae; l. 164, P. 17,448, prosperitate paterna; P. 1008, P. 2826, and P. 17,448, et in eo; l. 168, P. 1008, abent; l. 171, P. 1008, catolica.[1]

G.

Copy of an "expositio fidei," or sermon on the Apostles' Creed, addressed to catechumens, in Paris, Latin, 3848 B and 2123. The text is that of the former MS.:—

Rogo vos et admoneo, fratres karissimi, quicunque vult salvus esse fidem rectam catholicam firmiter teneat inviolatamque conservet: quam si quis digne non habuerit, regnum Dei non possidebit. Credite in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, invisibilem, visibilium et invisibilium omnium rerum conditorem, hoc est, quia omnia creavit simul verbo potentiae suae. Credite et in Jhesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum, conceptum de Spiritu Sancto, natum ex Maria virgine, hoc est sine matre de Patre Deus ante secula, et homo de matre sine patre carnali in finem seculorum; crucifixum sub Pontio Pilato praeside, et sepultum, tertia diae resurgentem ex mortuis, hoc est, in vera sua carne, quam accepit ex Maria semper virgine, per veram resurreccionem resurrexit. Postquam diabulum ligavit et animas sanctorum de inferno liberavit, victor ascendit ad celos, sedit in dexteram Dei Patris. Inde credite venturum judicare vivos ac mortuos, hoc est,

[1] Both P. 2826 and P. 17,448 are imperfect as regards Fortunatus's Commentary, terminating with the word "rationem." In P. 2826, which is clearly the original from which the other was copied, this word is followed by a semicolon, showing that it was not the concluding word. In P. 17,448, it is followed by the point in the middle.

sanctos et peccatores, ac mortuos[1] de sepulchris et vivos quos dies juditii inveniet viventes. Credite et in Spiritum Sanctum Deum omnipotentem unam habenter substantiam cum Patre et Filio. Sed tamen intimare debemus, quod Pater Deus est et Filius Deus est et Spiritus Sanctus Deus est, et non sunt tres dii, sed unus est Deus; sicut ignis et flamma et calor una res est. Ecce videmus cereum accensum, in quo conspicimus trea[2] inseparabilia esse, ignem, lucem, et motum. Ignis persona intellegi poterit Patris, sicut scriptum: Deus vester ignis consumens est; lucem[3] Filius est, sicut ipse ait in evangelio: Ego sum lux mundi hujus; motum vero Spiritum Sanctum, qui corda prophetarum ad vaticinium movebat. Sicut ergo[4] splendor de igne manat, sic Filius de Patre, et Deum[5] semper in Patre fuerit, sicut lux in igne. Ita Filius manens in aequalitate Patris, cum ad mortalium mentes prodire voluit, genitus appellatus est; quoniam non splendor ignem, sed ignis splendorem generat. Ita ergo Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confitemur, non tres Deos, sed unum, ut dixi, unius inquam omnipotentiæ, unius divinitatis, unius potestatis. Et tamen Pater non

[1] Paris, 2123 has "hac mortuis." [2] For "tria."

[3] In 2123, a line has been drawn under *cem* and *x* written above.

[4] The words, from "vaticinium" to "ergo" inclusive, which constitute a line in Paris, 3848 B, are omitted entirely in 2123—a conclusive proof, taken in connection with other evidence to the same effect, that the latter MS. was copied for the most part from the former. The copyist, it is obvious, missed the line. The corrector of 2123 evidently noticed the omission, but did not discover how it was to be supplied, for he has placed a dot under the *d* in "ad," and written *c* above.

[5] 2123 has also "Deum" and "fuerit." So also it follows 3848 B in the readings which occur a little above, "lucem," "motum," "Spiritum Sanctum." This reproduction by 2123 of the errors and solecisms of 3848 B, is another clear proof that the one was copied from the other.

est Filius, et Filius non est Pater, nec Spiritus Sanctus aut Pater aut Filius. Sed Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti una æternitas, una substantia, una potestas inseparabilis. Ecce duo vocabula dixi, ignem et lucem, unam tamen substantiam dico, Deum unum postulo. Tria accipio, nec fraudor ab alio, cum unius vocabula[1] dixero. Verbi causa, si dixero, adfer inde lumen, non statim amisi calorem ignis; aut si ignem petiero, lucis fraudari[2] possum adventu. Ita et in divinitatem credite: dum creditis in Patrem, sine dubio et Filium habebitis; si confessi fueritis Filium, in illo invenietis et Patrem; dum credideritis[3] in Spiritum Sanctum, omnem plenitudinem divinitatis atque trinitatis inconcusse tenebitis. Pater non senior de Filio secundum divinitatem, nec Filius juvenior est de Patre, sed una ætas,[4] una substantia, una virtus, una majestas, una divitas,[5] una potentia Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Credite ecclesiam catholicam, hoc est, universalem in universo mundo, ubi unus Deus in trinitate personarum et in unitate divinitatis colitur, unum baptisma habetur, una fides servatur. Et qui non est in unitate ecclesiæ, aut clericus aut laicus aut masculus aut femina aut ingenuus aut servus, partem in regno Dei non habebit. Credite remissionem peccatorum, aut per baptisma, si observatis legem ejus, hoc est, abrenunciatione diabuli et angelis ejus[6] et pompis seculi, aut per poenitentiam veram, id,[7] commissa deflere et penitenda non committere, aut per martyrium, ubi sanguis pro baptismo computatur. Credite communem[8] omnium corporum resurrectionem post mortem.

[1] 2123 has "vocabulum."
[2] 2133 has "fraudare."
[3] 2123 has "crederitis."
[4] Probably a mistake for "æternitas," as just after "divitas" occurs for "divinitas." 2123 has "etas."
[5] 2123 has "divinitas."
[6] So also 2123.
[7] 2123 also omits "est" here.
[8] The original reading here in 2123 was evidently "communionem,"

Sine dubio enim erit, sicut scribtum est, et resurgent qui in monumentis sunt. Quanta membra et ossa et capillos habuit homo, tantos habebit in resurrectionem. Non in altera carne resurgent, sed in ea ipsa quam habuerunt; sed tamen resurgent homines juvenes quasi XXX. annorum, licet senes aut infantes transierint, et pulchriora corpora et tenuiora habebunt,[1] ut peccatores æternas susteneant poenas, et justi et sancti premia cælestia in isdem corporibus possedeant.

Here the expository portion of the sermon ends. It will be noticed that the Creed here expounded apparently did not contain the words "passus," or "mortuus," or "omnipotentis," nor yet the articles "descendit ad inferna," "sanctorum communionem," "vitam æternam"—all of these being unnoticed and unmentioned. The sermon proceeds to exhort to obedience and the imitation of Christ, and to good works and the avoidance of mortal sins, and concludes: "Si haec que suggessimus, fratres mei, implere volueritis, remissionem peccatoram promerebitis et vitam aeternam consequeritis[2] auxiliante Domino nostro Jhesu Christo, qui vivit et regnat in secula."

Copy of the expository portion of 'Sermo' ccxliv. in the fourth appendix to St. Augustine:—

Rogo et admoneo vos, fratres carissimi, ut quicunque vult salvus esse, fidem rectam ac catholicam discat, firmiter teneat, inviolatamque conservet. Ita ergo oportet unicuique observare, ut credat Patrem, credat Filium, credat Spiritum Sanctum. Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et

but the letters *nio* have been erased by the corrector. The scribe, no doubt, had in his mind the article "the communion of saints," which is passed over.

[1] Such was St. Augustine's belief. See 'De Civitate Dei,' lib. xxii. capp. xv., xvi.

[2] So the original hand; but an attempt has been made at alteration.

Spiritus Sanctus, sed tamen non tres dii, sed unus Deus. Qualis Pater, talis Filius, talis et Spiritus Sanctus. Attamen credat unusquisque fidelis, quod Filius æqualis est Patri secundum divinitatem et minor est Patre secundum humanitatem carnis, quam de nostro assumpsit; Spiritus vero Sanctus ab utroque procedens. Credite ergo, carissimi, in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, credite et in Jesum Christum Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum. Credite eum conceptum esse de Spiritu Sancto et natum ex Maria virgine, quæ virgo ante partum et virgo post partum semper fuit, et absque contagione vel macula peccati perduravit. Credite eum pro nostris peccatis passum sub Pontio Pilato, credite crucifixum, credite mortuum et sepultum, credite eum ad inferna descendisse, diabolum obligasse, et animas sanctorum, quæ sub custodia detinebantur, liberasse secumque ad cælestem patriam perduxisse. Credite eum tertia die a mortuis resurrexisse, et nobis exemplum resurrectionis ostendisse. Credite eum in cælis cum carne, quam de nostro assumpsit, adscendisse. Credite quod in dextera sedet Patris. Credite quod venturus sit judicare vivos et mortuos. Credite in Spiritum Sanctum, credite sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, credite Sanctorum communionem, credite carnis resurrectionem, credite remissionem peccatorum, credite et vitam æternam.

H.

Copy of the profession of Faith sometimes entitled, "Fides Romanorum," from the Latin MS. 1451, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:—

INCIPIT FIDES ROMANORUM.

Credimus in unum Deum omnipotentem et unigenitum filium ejus Jhesum Christum Deum et salvatorem nostrum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum. Non tres Deos, sed Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum esse confitemur: non si (*sic*) unum Deum solitarium, nec eundem qui ipse sibi Pater sit, ipse Filius, sed Patrem verum, qui genuit Filium verum, id est, Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine, vita ex vita, perfectum de perfecto, totum a toto, plenum a pleno, non creatum sed genitum, non ex nihilo, sed ex patre, unius substantiae cum Patre; Spiritum vero Sanctum Deum, non ingenitum neque genitum, non creatum nec factum, sed Patris et Filii, semper in Patre et Filio coaeternum veneramur: unum tamen Deum, quia ex uno Patre totum quod Patris est, Deus natus est Filius, in Patre totum, quod Deus est, totam (*sic*) genuit Filium. Pater Filium generans non minuit nec amisit plenitudinis suae Deitatem. Totum autem quod est Deus Pater id esse et Filium a Deo natum certissime tenentis (*sic*) cum Spiritu Sancto unum Deum piissime confitemur. Credimus Jhesum Christum Dominum nostrum Dei Filium, per quem omnia facta sunt, quae in caelis et quae in terra, visibilia et invisibilia, propter nostram salutem discendisse de caelo, qui nunquam desierit esse in caelo, et natum de Spiritu Sancto ex virgine Maria. Verbum caro factum non amisit, quod erat, sed coepit esse quod non erat, non demutatum, sed Deum permanentem etiam hominem natum, non putative, sed vere, non aereum sed corporeum, non fatasiam

(*sic*) sed carneum, ossa sanguinem sensum et animam habentem. Ita verum hominem ut verum Deum, unum eundemque vero hominem et verum Deum, intellegimus, ita ut verum Deum verum hominem fuisse nullo nodo ambigamus confitendum. Hunc eundemque Jhesum Christum adimplisse legem et prophetas, passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum secundum scripturas, mortuum esse et sepultum secundum scripturas, tertia die a mortuis resurrexisse, adsumptum in caelis sedere ad dexteram Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Expectamus in hujus morte et sanguine mundatos remissionem peccatorum consecutos resuscitandos nos in his corporibus et in eadem carne, qua nunc sumus, sicut et ipse in eadem carne, qua natus passus et mortuos (*sic*) est et resurrexit, et animas cum hac carne vel corpora nostra accepturas ab eo ad vitam aeternam premium boni meriti, aut sententiam pro peccatis aeterni supplicii.

Copy of two professions of Faith from the Latin MS. 3836, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris :—

INCIPIT EXPOSITIO FIDEI.

Credimus unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem et Filium ejus unicum Dominum nostrum conceptum de Spiritu Sancto Jhesum Christum Deum et Dominum nostrum et Spiritum Sanctum Deum. Non tres Deos, sed Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum esse confitemur: non sic unum Deum solitarium, nec eundem qui ipse sibi Pater sit, ipse et Filius; sed Patrem verum, qui genuit Filium verum, ut est, Deus de Deo, lumen de lumine, vita ex vita, perfectum de perfecto, totum a toto, plenum a pleno, non creatum sed genitum, non ex nihilo sed ex Patre, unius substantiae cum Patre; Spiritum vero Sanctum Deum, non ingenitum neque genitum, non creatum nec factum, sed Patris et Filii, semper in Patrem

et Filium co-aeternum veneramur: unum tamen Deum, quia ex uno Patre totum, quod Patris est, Deus natus est Filius. Pater Filium generans nec minuit nec amisit plenitudinis suae Deitatem. Totum autem quod Deus Pater est, id esse et Filium ab eo natum certissimae tenentis (*sic*) cum Spiritu Sancto unum Deum piissime confitemur. Explicit.

INCIPIT EJUSDEM SERMO.

Credimus Jhesum Christum Dominum nostrum Dei Filium, per quem omnia facta sunt que in caelis et quae in terra visibilia et invisibilia, propter nostram salutem discendisse de caelo, qui nunquam desierit esse in caelo, natum de Spiritu Sancto et virgine Maria. Verbum caro factum non amisit quod fuerat, sed coepit esse quod non erat; non demutatum, sed Deum permanentem, etiam hominem natum, non putative sed vere, non aereum sed corporeum, non fantaseum sed carneum, ossa sanguinem sensum animam habentem. Ita verum hominem et verum Deum intellegimus et verum Deum verum hominem fuisse nullo modo ambigamus confitendum. Hunc eundem Dominum Jhesum Christum adimplisse legem et prophetas, passum sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixum secundum scripturas, tertia die a mortuis resurrexisse, adsumptum in caelis sedere ad dexteram Patris, inde venturum judicare vivos et mortuos. Expectamus in hujus mortem et sanguinem mundatos remissionem peccatorum consecutos resuscitandos nos ab eo in his corporibus in eadem carnem (*sic*) qua natus et passus et mortuos (*sic*) et resurrexit et animas cum hac carne vel corpora nostra accepturos ab eo ad vitam aeternam premium bonum meriti aut sententiam pro peccatis aeterni supplicii.

Copy of the "Damasi Symbolum," from the Latin MS. 1684, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris :—

ITEM EJUSDEM DE FIDE APUD BETHLEEM.

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in unum Dominum Jhesum Christum Filium Dei et in Spiritum Sanctum Deum. Non tres Deos, sed Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum colimus et confitemur: non sic unum quasi solitarium, nec eundem, qui ipse sibi Pater sit, ipse et Filius, sed Patrem esse qui genuit, Filium esse qui genitus sit, Spiritum vero Sanctum, non genitum neque ingenitum, non creatum neque factum, sed de Patre procedentem, Patri et Filio co-aeternum et co-aequalem et co-operatorem, quia scriptum est: Verbo Domini caeli firmati sunt, id est, a Filio Dei, et Spiritu oris ejus omnis virtus eorum, et alibi: Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur et renovabis faciem terre. Ideoque in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti unum confitemur Deum, quia Deus nomen est potestatis, non proprietatis. Proprium nomen est Patri Pater, et proprium nomen est Filio Filius, et proprium nomen est Spiritu Sancto Spiritus Sanctus. In hac trinitate unum Deum credimus, quia ex uno Patre, quod est unius cum Patre naturae uniusque substantiae et unius potestatis. Pater Filium genuit, non voluptate,[1] nec necessitate, sed natura. Filius ultimo tempore ad nos salvandos et ad implendas scripturas descendit a Patre, qui nunquam desiit esse cum Patre, et conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto, et natus ex virgine, carnem animam et sensum, hoc est, perfectum suscepit hominem, nec amisit quod erat, sed coepit esse, quod non erat; ita tamen ut perfectus in suis sit et verus in nostris. Nam qui Deus erat, homo natus est; et qui homo natus est, operatur ut Deus; et qui operatur ut Deus, ut homo moritur; et qui

[1] Clearly an error for "voluntate."

ut homo moritur, ut Deus surgit. Qui devicto mortis imperio cum ea carne, qua natus et passus et mortuus fuerat, resurrexit, ascendit ad Patrem, sedetque ad dexteram ejus in gloriam, quam semper habuit habetque. In hujus morte et sanguine credimus emundatos nos ab eo resuscitandos die novissima in qua nunc vivimus carne et habemus, consecuturos ab ipso aut vitam aeternam praemium boni meriti aut poenam pro peccatis aeterni supplicii. Haec lege, haec retine, huic fidei animam tuam subjuga, a Christo Domino et vitam consequeris praemia.

The profession of Faith immediately preceding this is attributed to St. Jerome by the Rubric: "Incipit de fide Sancti Hieronymi presbiteri;" so that this also is clearly attributed to that Father.

Copy of a profession of Faith entitled, "Fides Catholica," in the British Museum, MS. Reg. 2, A. XX.:—

Credimus in unum Deum Patrem omnipotentem et in unum Dominum nostrum Jhesum Christum Filium Dei et in Spiritum Sanctum Deum. Non tres Deos, sed Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum unum Deum colimus et confitemur.

I.

The text of the Creed of St. Athanasius, as it appears in Waterland's 'Critical History,' with various readings from the following MSS.:—Paris, 4858, 13,159, 1451, 3848 B, 2076, 2341, and 11,550, all in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Troyes, 804 and 1979; Bodleian Library, Oxford, Douce, 59, Rawlinson, 163, and Canonic. Eccl. 88; British Museum, Reg. 2, B. V.; and the Utrecht Psalter. Paris, 4858, it will be recollected, contains only the commence-

ment of the Creed, ending with the words "non tres aeterni," the rest being wanting, owing to the mutilation of the MS. The Creed does not appear separately in the Troyes MSS., but it is all quoted verse by verse in the Commentaries which they contain. I have given Waterland's text, because I used it in collating these MSS.

The title of the Creed:—Paris, 1451: *Fides chatolica sancti Atanasii episcopi Alexandrini;* Paris, 3848 B: *Fides sancti Athanasii episcopi;* Paris, 2076 and 2341: *Fides dicta a sancto Athanasio episcopo;* Paris, 11,550: *Fides Catholica a sancto Athanasio episcopo edita;* Douce, 59: *Fides Catholica Athanasii episcopi;* Rawlinson, 163: *Fides Cathplica Sancti Athanasii episcopi;* Canonic. Eccl. 88: *Fides Athanasii episcopi*; Reg. 2, B. V.: *hymnus athanasii de fide trinitatis;* Utrecht Psalter: *Fides Catholicam;* Troyes, 804: *Fides Catholica;* and Troyes, 1979: *Fides Sancti Athanasii Episcopi in veneratione sanctissime Trinitatis individuaeque unitatis omnipotentissimi universitatis Dei.* In the rest no title appears.

1. Quicunque vult salvus esse, ante omnia opus est, ut teneat Catholicam Fidem.[1]

2. Quam nisi quisque integram inviolatamque servaverit, absque dubio in æternum peribit.[2]

3. Fides autem Catholica hæc est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in Unitate veneremur:[3]

4. Neque confundentes personas, neque substantiam separantes.[4]

[1] Verse 1. After "opus est," Reg. 2, B. V. adds "enim." For "Catholicam" Paris, 13,159 has "chatolicam."

[2] Verse 2. "Absque dubio" is omitted by Paris, 4858.

[3] Verse 3. Paris, 2076 reads "haec est unum," omitting "ut." For "Trinitatem" Paris, 13,159 and 2076 read "trinitate," the mark of contraction being omitted, no doubt through inadvertence.

[4] Verse 4. For "confundentes" Paris, 1451 and Reg. 2, B. V. read "confundantes." For "substantiam" Paris, 4858 reads "substantia," omitting the mark of contraction.

5. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti.[1]

6. Sed Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti una est divinitas, æqualis gloria, co-æterna majestas.[2]

7. Qualis Pater, talis Filius; talis et Spiritus Sanctus.[3]

8. Increatus Pater, increatus Filius, increatus et Spiritus Sanctus.[4]

9. Immensus Pater, immensus Filius, immensus et Spiritus Sanctus.[5]

10. Æternus Pater, æternus Filius, æternus et Spiritus Sanctus.[6]

11. Et tamen non tres æterni, sed unus æternus.

12. Sicut non tres increati, nec tres immensi, sed unus increatus, et unus immensus.[7]

13. Similiter, omnipotens Pater, omnipotens Filius, omnipotens et Spiritus Sanctus.[8]

14. Et tamen non tres omnipotentes, sed unus omnipotens.

15. Ita Deus Pater, Deus Filius, Deus et Spiritus Sanctus.[9]

[1] Verse 5. For "est enim" Paris, 2076 and 2341 read "est ergo."

[2] Verse 6. Before "co-æterna" Troyes, 804 inserts "et." For "co-æterna" Paris, 1451, 4858, and 2341 read "quo-aeterna."

[3] Verse 7. Troyes, 1979 omits "et" before "Spiritus."

[4] Verse 8. Troyes, 804 and 1979 omit "et" before "Spiritus." Paris, 1451 reads verses 8, 9, 10 thus: "aeternus pater, aeternus filius, aeternus et spiritus sanctus; Increatus pater, increatus filius, increatus et spiritus sanctus; Inmensus pater, inmensus filius, inmensus et spiritus sanctus." This reading clearly derives support from the received text of verses 11 and 12.

[5] Verse 9. Troyes, 804 and 1979 omit "et" before "Spiritus."

[6] Verse 10. Troyes, 1979 omits "et" before "Spiritus."

[7] Verse 12. For "increatus" Paris, 2076 reads "incretus," clearly a mere *lapsus*.

[8] Verse 13. Troyes, 1979 omits "et" before "Spiritus."

[9] Verse 15. Canonic. Eccl. 88 and Troyes, 1979 omit "et" before "Spiritus."

16. Et tamen non tres dii, sed unus est Deus.[1]

17. Ita Dominus Pater, Dominus Filius, Dominus et Spiritus Sanctus.[2]

18. Et tamen non tres Domini, sed unus est Dominus.

19. Quia sicut singillatim unamquamque personam et Deum et Dominum confiteri Christiana veritate compellimur; ita tres Deos aut Dominos dicere Catholica religione prohibemur.[3]

20. Pater a nullo est factus, nec creatus, nec gènitus.[4]

21. Filius a Patre solo est, non factus, nec creatus, sed genitus.[5]

22. Spiritus Sanctus a Patre et Filio, non factus, nec creatus, nec genitus est, sed procedens.[6]

23. Unus ergo Pater, non tres Patres; unus Filius, non tres Filii; unus Spiritus Sanctus, non tres Spiritus Sancti.[7]

24. Et in hac Trinitate nihil prius aut posterius, nihil

[1] Verse 16. Paris, 13,159 reads "unus deus," omitting "est."

[2] Verse 17. Troyes, 1979 omits "et" before "Spiritus."

[3] Verse 19. For "Quia sicut singillatim" Paris, 13,159 reads "Quia singillatim," omitting "sicut." For "personam" Paris, 2076 reads "persona," omitting the mark of contraction. For "personam et Deum" Paris, 13,159, 1451, 2341, 11,550; Reg. 2, B. V., Douce, 59, the Utrecht Psalter, Troyes, 804 and 1979 read "personam Deum," omitting "et." For "Christiana" Paris, 13,159 reads "christiane." For "aut Dominos" Paris, 1451, 3848 B, 2341, the Utrecht Psalter, Troyes, 804 and 1979 read "aut tres Dominos," inserting "tres." For "dicere" Paris, 3848 B reads "dici."

[4] Verse 20. After "creatus" a word has been erased in Paris, 2341.

[5] Verse 21. For "nec" Troyes, 804 reads "aut."

[6] Verse 22. For "nec creatus" Troyes, 804 reads "aut creatus." For "genitus est, sed procedens" Paris, 1451, 2076, 2341, Reg. 2, B. V., the Utrecht Psalter, and Troyes, 1979 read "genitus sed procedens," omitting "est."

[7] Verse 23. Paris, 13,159 omits "Sanctus" after "Spiritus." Also it reads "tris" for "tres" both here and in verse 19. For "Sanctus, non tres" Troyes, 804 reads "Sanctus, sed non tres," inserting "sed."

majus aut minus, sed totæ tres personæ co-æternæ sibi sunt, et co-æquales.[1]

25. Ita ut per omnia, sicut jam supra dictum est, et unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in unitate veneranda sit.[2]

26. Qui vult ergo salvus esse, ita de Trinitate sentiat.

27. Sed necessarium est ad æternam salutem, ut Incarnationem quoque Domini nostri Jesu Christi fideliter credat.[3]

28. Est ergo fides recta, ut credamus et confiteamur, quia Dominus noster Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, Deus pariter et homo est.[4]

29. Deus est ex substantia Patris ante sæcula genitus, homo est ex substantia matris in sæculo natus.[5]

[1] Verse 24. Paris, 1451 has "ac" for "hac," but *h* has been written above by a corrector. Troyes, 804 reads "sed in hac." Paris, 1451 reads "quohaeternae;" Paris, 13,159, "quo-eternę" and "quo-equales;" Paris, 2341, "quo-aeternę;" Troyes, 804, "quo-aeternae;" Paris, 2341 and Troyes, 804, "quo-aequales."

[2] Verse 25. For "supra" Paris, 13,159 reads "superius," but "supra" has been written above by a corrector. For "unitas in Trinitate, et Trinitas in unitate" Paris, 1451, 13,159, 2076, 11,550, Reg. 2, B. V., Douce, 59, Canonic. Eccl. 88, the Utrecht Psalter, Troyes, 804 and 1979 all read "trinitas in unitate et unitas in trinitate."

[3] Verse 27. Paris, 13,159 omits "est" after "necessarium." Paris, 2076 has "salutem" twice, and reads "Incarnatione," omitting the mark of contraction.

[4] Verse 28. Paris, 1451, 2076, 2341 insert "et" before "Deus." Paris, 1451, 11,550, Douce, 59, the Utrecht Psalter, and Troyes, 1979 omit "pariter." It is also absent from Paris, 13,159; but to all appearance it was not so originally, as it is evident that a word has been erased after "Deus."

[5] Verse 29. Troyes, 1979 omits "est" after "Deus." Also it omits "genitus." Paris, 11,550 omits the words "ante sæcula genitus," but they have been added in the margin by another hand. Paris, 1451, 13,159, 2076, 2341, 11,550, Reg. 2, B. V., Douce, 59, Rawlinson, 163, Canonic. Eccl. 88, and the Utrecht Psalter all read "et homo est." Troyes, 804 has "homo est" without "et." Paris, 13,159, for "in sæculo" has "in secula."

30. Perfectus Deus, perfectus homo ex anima rationali et humana carne subsistens.[1]

31. Æqualis Patri secundum divinitatem; minor Patre secundum humanitatem.[2]

32. Qui licet Deus sit et homo, non duo tamen, sed unus est Christus.

33. Unus autem, non conversione divinitatis in carnem, sed adsumptione humanitatis in Deum.[3]

34. Unus autem non confusione substantiæ, sed unitate personæ.[4]

35. Nam sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus.

36. Qui passus est pro salute nostra, descendit ad inferos, tertia die resurrexit a mortuis.[5]

37. Ascendit ad cælos, sedet ad dexteram Patris, inde venturus judicare vivos et mortuos.[6]

[1] Verse 30. For "rationali" Paris, 13,159 reads "rationale." For "humana" Paris, 1451 reads "umana."

[2] Verse 31. Paris, 1451 reads "sedum divinitatem"—evidently a mere slip. Paris, 1451, 13,159, 2076, and the Utrecht Psalter have "minor patri."

[3] Verse 33. Paris, 11,550, and Troyes, 1979 alone have "carnem" and "Deum;" all the rest of these MSS. have "carne" and "deo." Paris, 13,159 reads "adsuptione," the mark of contraction over the *u* being inadvertently omitted.

[4] Verse 34. For "unitate personæ" Paris, 1451 and 2076 read "unitatis persone;" the first word is partly erased in the latter MS. Paris, 2341 has "humitate" for "unitate."

[5] Verse 36. For "pro salute nostra" Paris, 2076 reads "pro salutem nostram," the mark of contraction over the final *e* and *a* being added inadvertently. The Utrecht Psalter has "saluta." For "descendit" Paris, 1451 reads "descendet." For "inferos" Troyes, 804 reads "inferna." Paris, 1451, 13,159, 2076, 2341, Douce, 59, and Troyes, 1979 omit "tertia die." Paris, 1451, 2341, and Troyes, 1979 read "surrexit." In Paris, 11,550, "tertia die" is omitted from the text, but is added in the margin.

[6] Verse 37. Paris, 1451, 13,159, 3848 B, 2076, 2341, Reg. 2, B. V., and the Utrecht Psalter read "sedit" for "sedet." Paris, 13,159

38. Ad cujus adventum omnes homines resurgere habent cum corporibus suis, et redditurі sunt de factis propriis rationem.

39. Et qui bona egerunt, ibunt in vitam æternam; qui vero mala, in ignem æternum.[1]

40. Hæc est Fides Catholica, quam nisi quisque fideliter firmiterque crediderit, salvi esse non poterit.[2]

J.

Copy of so much of Paris, Latin, 3836 (Colbert, 784), as relates to the Athanasian Creed, commonly known as the Colbertine MS. of the Creed :—

HAEC INVINI TREVERIS IN UNO LIBRO SCRIPTUM. SIC INCIPIENTE DOMINI NOSTRI IHESU CHRISTI. ET RELIQUA. DOMINI NOSTRI. IHESU CHRISTI FIDELITER CREDAT. Est ergo fides recta ut credamus et confitemur quia dominus ihesus christus dei filius. Deus pariter et homo est. Deus est

reads "a dexteram." Paris, 1451, 13,159, 2076, Canonic. Eccl. 88, and the Utrecht Psalter add "Dei" after "dexteram." Paris, 1451, 13,159, 3848 B, 2076, Reg. 2, B. V., Douce, 59, Canonic. Eccl. 88, the Utrecht Psalter, and Troyes, 1979 add "omnipotentis" after "Patris." Reg. 2, B. V. adds "est" after "venturus." Canonic. Eccl. 88 reads "in celos."

[1] Verse 39. Paris, 13,159 and the Utrecht Psalter omit "vero." The latter also inserts "et," reading "et qui mala." Paris, 2076 reads "malum." Troyes, 804 adds "egerunt" after "mala." Reg. 2, B. V. inserts "et" before "qui vero." In Paris, 1451, after "aeternam" there is added "erunt in resurrectionem vitę;" and just before "erunt" there appear the letters *s a*, with a line drawn through them, as if the scribe had begun to write some word commencing with those letters, possibly "salvi" or "salvabuntur," and then, correcting himself, put his pen through them.

[2] Verse 40. Paris, 1451 repeats "fides;" also reads "chatolica" and "firmiterquae." In Rawlinson, 163, all after "firmi" is wanting. In Paris, 11,550, the "Gloria Patri," etc. is added.

de substantia patris Ante saecula genitus. et homo de substantia matris in saeculo natus. perfectus deus. perfectus homo ex anima rationabili. et humana carne subsistens aequalis patri saecundum divinitatem minor patri. secundum humanitatem qui licet deus. sit homo non duo tamen sed unus est christus. unus autem non ex eo quod sit in carne. Conversa divinitas. sed quia est in deo adsumpta dignanter humanitas. unus christus est non confusione substanciae sed unitatem personae qui secundum fidem nostram passus et mortuos ad inferna discendens. Et die tertia resurrexit adque ad celos ascendit. Ad dexteram dei patris sedet sicut vobis in simbulo tradutum est Inde ad judicandos vivos et mortuos credimus. Et speramus eum esse venturum. Ad cujus adventum erunt omnes homines. sine dubio in suis corporibus resurrecturi et reddituri de factis propriis rationem ut qui bona egerunt eant in vitam aeternam qui mala in ignem aeternum. Haec est fides. sancta et catholica. quam omnes homo qui ad vitam aeternam. pervenire. desiderat scire integrae debet. et fideliter custodire.

This is copied from the fac-simile printed by the Palæographical Society. The spelling and punctuation are exactly transcribed; but the abbreviations are not reproduced.

Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

THE ATHANASIAN CREED:

AN EXAMINATION OF RECENT THEORIES RESPECTING ITS DATE AND ORIGIN.

With a Postscript referring to Professor Swainson's Account of its Growth and Reception, which is contained in his Work entitled "The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, their Literary History."

By G. D. W. OMMANNEY,

VICAR OF DRAYCOT, SOMERSET.

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"The author of the learned and able volume now before us writes stoutly and acutely in its defence; but he writes with a well-weighed, deliberate judgment, and his arguments will command respect. 'There is no safe ground,' says a recent defender of St. Athanasius, 'between infidelity and this Creed,' and, believing this assertion to be a true one, Mr. Ommanney boldly determined to supply, as far as lay in his power, a prompt and decided answer to the theories of Mr. Ffoulkes and Dr. Swainson, two of the fiercest among recent assailants of the creed. . . . He meets his adversaries on every ground, whether of logical argument, critical examination, or broad moral value, with great readiness, learning, and fairness; and it is probable that in no recent volume of controversial theology will this crucial question be found to be more thoroughly discussed. . . . All students who are interested in the controversy will find in Mr. Ommanney's essays a good handbook of defence for the maintenance of the Creed in its present place."—*Standard.*

"According to Dr. Swainson, the Creed was the product of the eighth and ninth centuries, and was formed by a long process of growth; while Mr. Ffoulkes declares it to have been a forgery published by Charlemagne in the ninth. The author reviews these two theories at considerable length, and crushes them most completely. Not the least valuable part of the work is the carefully compiled table of contents."—*Church Times.*

"Les professeurs Heurtley, Stubbs, Jones, Brewer, et M. Ommanney se sont distingués dans cette controversie. Ce dernier vient de publier une réfutation remarquable et complète des erreurs de MM. Ffoulkes et Swainson sur l'origine du symbole de Saint Athanase. Il établit solidement qu'il est impossible de prouver que le *Quicunque* a reçu des additions au huitième et au neuvième siècles, et il deduit de cette impossibilité son antiquité. . . . M. Ommanney se meut librement au milieu des autorités qu'il cite avec discretion et à propos; il est d'une lecture facile et agréable."—*Polybiblion, Paris.*

RIVINGTONS: LONDON, OXFORD, AND CAMBRIDGE.

January, 1880.

A CLASSIFIED CATALOGUE OF BOOKS

Selected from the Publications of

MESSRS. RIVINGTON

WATERLOO PLACE, LONDON

MAGDALEN STREET, OXFORD; TRINITY STREET, CAMBRIDGE

Contents.

	PAGE		PAGE
1. The Prayer Book and the Church Service	1	6. Sermons	51
2. The Holy Scriptures	7	7. Religious Education	69
3. Devotional Works	19, 92	8. Allegories and Tales	74
4. Parish Work	37	9. History and Biography	77
5. The Church and Doctrine	42	10. Poetry and Miscellaneous	88
		11. Index	93

Educational Works—*see* Rivington's School Catalogue.

1. The Prayer Book and the Church Service.

The Compendious Edition of the Annotated Book of Common Prayer, forming a concise Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Sects and Heresies," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*; in half-morocco, 16*s.*; or in morocco limp, 17*s.* 6*d.*

The Annotated Book of Common Prayer

Prayer; being an Historical, Ritual, and Theological Commentary on the Devotional System of the Church of England. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Sects and Heresies," &c., &c. Seventh Edition. Imperial 8vo. 36*s.*; or in half-morocco, 48*s.*

[This large edition contains the Latin and Greek originals, together with technical Ritual Annotations, Marginal References, &c., which are necessarily omitted for want of room in the "Compendious Edition."]

"Whether as, historically, shewing how the Prayer Book came to be what it is, or, ritually, how it designs itself to be rendered from word into act, or, theologically, as exhibiting the relation between doctrine and worship on which it is framed, the book amasses a world of information carefully digested, and errs commonly, if at all, on the side of excess."—GUARDIAN.

"The most complete and compendious Commentary on the English Prayer Book ever yet published. Almost everything that has been written by all the best liturgical and historical authorities ancient and modern (of which a formidable list is prefixed to the work) is quoted, or referred to, or compressed into the notes illustrative of the several subjects."—JOHN BULL.

"The book is a mine of information and research—able to give an answer almost on anything we wish to know about our present Prayer Book, its antecedents and originals—and ought to be in the library of every intelligent Churchman. Nothing like it has as yet been seen."—CHURCH REVIEW.

Liber Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ

Anglicanæ. A GULIELMO BRIGHT, S.T.P., Ædis Christi apud Oxon. Canonico, et PETRO GOLDSMITH MEDD, A.M., Collegii Universitatis apud Oxon. Socio Seniore, Latine redditus. Editio tertia, cum Appendice. [In hac editione continentur Versiones Latinæ—1. Libri Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ; 2. Liturgiæ Primæ Reformatæ; 3. Liturgiæ Scoticanæ; 4. Liturgiæ Americanæ.] With Rubrics in Red. Small 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The First Book of Common Prayer of

Edward VI. and the Ordinal of 1549. Together with the Order of the Communion, 1548. Reprinted entire. Edited by the Rev. HENRY BASKERVILLE WALTON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College; with Introduction by the Rev. PETER GOLDSMITH MEDD, M.A., Rector of North Cerney; Hon. Canon of St. Albans; late Senior Fellow of University College, Oxford; and Rector of Barnes. Small 8vo. 6*s.*

The Prayer Book Interleaved; with

Historical Illustrations and Explanatory Notes arranged parallel to the Text. By W. M. CAMPION, D.D., and W. J. BEAMONT, M.A. With a Preface by the LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER. Tenth Edition. Small 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

"An excellent publication, combining a portable Prayer Book with the history of the text and explanatory notes."—SPECTATOR.

"This book is of the greatest use for spreading an intelligent knowledge of the English Prayer Book, and we heartily wish it a large and continuous circulation."—CHURCH REVIEW.

"The work may be commended as a very convenient manual for all who are interested to some extent in liturgical studies, but who have not time or the means for original research. It would also be most useful to examining chaplains."—CHURCH TIMES.

The Book of Common Prayer, and

Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH in the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, together with the Psalter, or Psalms of David. Royal 32mo. French roan limp, *2s. 6d.*

An Illuminated Edition of the Book

of Common Prayer, printed in Red and Black, on fine toned paper; with Borders and Titles designed after the manner of the 14th Century. By R. R. HOLMES, F.S.A., and engraved by O. JEWITT. Crown 8vo. *16s.*

A Book of Litanies, Metrical and Prose.

With an Evening Service. Edited by the Compiler of "The Treasury of Devotion." And accompanying Music arranged under the Musical Editorship of W. S. HOYTE, Organist and Director of the Choir at All Saints', Margaret Street, London. Crown 4to. *7s. 6d.*

Also may be had, an Edition of the Words, 18mo., *6d.*; or in paper cover, *4d.* With Hymns (A. and M.) in one vol., cloth, *1s. 10d.* Separately: Metrical Litanies, 18mo., *5d.*; or in paper cover, *3d.* Prose Litanies, with an Evening Service, in paper cover, *3d.* An Evening Service, *1d.*

A Key to the Knowledge and Use of

the Book of Common Prayer. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. New Edition. Small 8vo. *2s. 6d.* Also a Cheap Edition, *1s. 6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"Impossible to praise too highly. It is the best short explanation of our offices that we know of, and would be invaluable for the use of candidates for confirmation in the higher classes."—JOHN BULL.

"To us it appears that Mr. Blunt has succeeded very well. All necessary information seems to be included, and the arrangement is excellent."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"A very valuable and practical manual, full of information. It deserves high commendation."—CHURCHMAN.

Sacraments and Sacramental Ordi-

nances of the Church; being a Plain Exposition of their History, Meaning, and Effects. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. Small 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

A Commentary, Expository and De-

votional, on the Order of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, according to the Use of the Church of England; to which is added, an Appendix on Fasting Communion, Non-communicating Attendance, Auricular Confession, the Doctrine of Sacrifice, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Sixth Edition. Small 8vo. *6s.*

Also a Cheap Edition, uniform with "Thoughts on Personal Religion," and "The Pursuit of Holiness." *3s. 6d.*

Comment upon the Collects appointed

to be used in the Church of England on Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year. By JOHN JAMES, D.D., sometime Canon of Peterborough. New Edition. Small 8vo. *3s.* 6d. Also a Fine Edition, on Toned Paper. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

The Priest to the Altar; or, Aids to the Devout Celebration of Holy Communion, chiefly after the Ancient English Use of Sarum. Third Edition, revised and enlarged. Royal 8vo. 12*s.*

Notitia Eucharistica; a Commentary, Explanatory, Doctrinal, and Historical, on the Order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, or Holy Communion, according to the use of the Church of England. With an Appendix on the Office for the Communion of the Sick. By the Rev. W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, and formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Second Edition, revised and enlarged. 8vo. 32*s.*

The Athanasian Origin of the Athanasian Creed. By J. S. BREWER, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The "Damnatory Clauses" of the Athanasian Creed rationally explained in a Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. By the Rev. MALCOLM MACCOLL, M.A., Rector of St. George, Botolph Lane. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

The Athanasian Creed: an Examination of Recent Theories respecting its Date and Origin. With a Postscript referring to Professor Swainson's Account of its Growth and Reception, which is contained in his Work entitled "The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds, their Literary History." By G. D. W. OMMANNEY, M.A., Vicar of Draycot, Somerset. Crown 8vo. 8*s.* 6*d.*

The New Mitre Hymnal, containing New Music by Sir JOHN GOSS, Sir GEORGE ELVEY, Dr. STAINER, HENRY GADSBY, Esq., J. BAPTISTE CALKIN, Esq., BERTHOLD TOURS, Esq., JAMES LANGRAN, Esq., and other eminent Composers; together with Scandinavian Tunes now first introduced into this Country. Royal 8vo. 5*s.*

An Edition of the Words without the Music may also be had. 18mo., cloth limp, 1*s.*; or in cloth boards, extra gilt, 1*s.* 6*d.*

[A large reduction to purchasers of quantities.]

Psalms and Hymns adapted to the Services of the Church of England; with a Supplement of additional Hymns, and Indices. By the Rev. W. J. HALL, M.A. 8vo., 5*s.* 6*d.*; 18mo., 3*s.*; 24mo., 1*s.* 6*d.*; cloth limp, 1*s.* 3*d.*; 32mo., 1*s.*; cloth limp, 8*d.*

Selection of Psalms and Hymns; with Accompanying Tunes selected and arranged by JOHN FOSTER, of Her Majesty's Chapels Royal. By the Rev. W. J. HALL, M.A. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* The Tunes only, 1*s.*

A Commentary, Practical and Exegetical, on the Lord's Prayer. By the Rev. W. DENTON, M.A. Small 8vo. 5*s.*

The Psalter, or Psalms of David. (The Prayer Book Version.) Printed in red and black. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. The Holy Scriptures.

The Greek Testament. With a Critically Revised Text; a Digest of Various Readings; Marginal References to Verbal and Idiomatic Usage; Prolegomena; and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury. New Edition. 4 Volumes. 8vo. 102*s*.

The Volumes are sold separately, as follows:—

Vol. I.—The Four Gospels. 28*s*.
Vol. II.—Acts to 2 Corinthians. 24*s*.
Vol. III.—Galatians to Philemon. 18*s*.
Vol. IV.—Hebrews to Revelation. 32*s*.

The New Testament for English Readers: containing the Authorized Version, with a revised English Text; Marginal References; and a Critical and Explanatory Commentary. By HENRY ALFORD, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury. New Edition. 2 Volumes, or 4 Parts. 8vo. 54*s*. 6*d*.

The Volumes are sold separately, as follows:—

Vol. 1, Part I.—The Three first Gospels. 12*s*.
Vol. 1, Part II.—St. John and the Acts. 10*s*. 6*d*.
Vol. 2, Part I.—The Epistles of St. Paul. 16*s*.
Vol. 2, Part II.—Hebrews to Revelation. 16*s*.

The Holy Bible; with Notes and Introductions.

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. New Edition. 6 Vols. Imperial 8vo. 120*s.*

The Volumes are sold separately, as follows :—

Vol. I.—The Pentateuch. 25*s.*
Vol. II.—Joshua to Samuel. 15*s.*
Vol. III.—Kings to Esther. 15*s.*
Vol. IV.—Job to Song of Solomon. 25*s.*
Vol. V.—Isaiah to Ezekiel. 25*s.*
Vol. VI.—Daniel, Minor Prophets, and Index. 15*s.*

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour JESUS CHRIST, in the original Greek; with Notes, Introductions, and Indices.

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. New Edition. 2 Vols. Imperial 8vo. 60*s.*

The Volumes are sold separately, as follows :—

Vol. I.—Gospels and Acts. 23*s.*
Vol. II.—Epistles, Apocalypse, and Index. 37*s.*

Notes on the Greek Testament. The Gospel according to S. Luke.

By the Rev. ARTHUR CARR, M.A., Assistant-Master at Wellington College, late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

"*It is a most useful and scholarly work, well adapted to the higher classes of public schools and the students at our colleges.*"—STANDARD.

"*The notes are brief, scholarly, and based on the best authorities. . . . The introduction will be found to be of especial value to the young student, informing him, as it does, of the Greek manuscripts which form the basis of the Greek text, and giving a most thorough and comprehensive account of S. Luke's life and the style of his writing.*"—SCHOOL BOARD CHRONICLE.

"*Grammatical peculiarities are brought into the foreground, and contrasted with classical usages; questions of various reading are carefully noted; historical and archæological information is supplied plentifully when needful to illustrate a passage; the drift of a narrative or discourse and the sequence of the thoughts is traced out and carefully analysed; in short, the Gospel is treated as we treat a classical author, and the student is here supplied with an* apparatus criticus *superior in kind and completeness to any we have ever seen afforded to him for the purpose elsewhere. A very clever and taking book.*"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"*Admirably adapted for the use of those who begin the study of the New Testament in the original after having acquired a fair acquaintance with classical Greek.*"—SCOTSMAN.

The Annotated Bible, being a Household Commentary upon the Holy Scriptures, comprehending the Results of Modern Discovery and Criticism. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," "The Dictionary of Theology," etc. etc. Three Vols. Demy 4to, with Maps, etc.

Vol. I. (668 pages.)—Containing the GENERAL INTRODUCTION, with Text and Annotations on the Books from GENESIS to ESTHER. 31*s.* 6*d.*

Vol. II. (720 pages.)—Completing the OLD TESTAMENT and APOCRYPHA. 31*s.* 6*d.*

This Work has been written with the object of providing for educated readers a compact intellectual exposition of the Holy Bible, in which they may find such explanations and illustrations of the Sacred Books as will meet the necessities of the ordinary, as distinguished from the laboriously learned, inquirer of the present day. Great care has been taken to compress as much information as possible into the Annotations by condensed language, by giving the results of inquiry without adding the detailed reasonings by which those results have been arrived at, by occupying scarcely any space with controversy, and by casting much matter into a tabular form.

Every book has an Introduction prefixed to it, which gives some account of its authorship, date, contents, object, and such other particulars as will put the reader in possession of the best modern conclusions on these subjects. The Annotations are also illustrated by text maps and other engravings when necessary, and full-page coloured maps are added for the general illustration of Biblical Geography from the best authorities.

The Commentary is preceded by a General Introduction, which contains chapters on the Literary History of the Bible (illustrated by engraved facsimiles, and by specimens of English Bibles from the tenth to the seventeenth centuries), on the trustworthiness of the Bible in its existing form, the revelation and inspiration of Holy Scripture, the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and the liturgical use of the Bible. There are also special Introductions to the New Testament and the Apocrypha.

"*We do not know any one publication in which the great mass of facts relating to the language, the transcription, the versions, and the extant copies of the Bible is contained in a form at once so comprehensive, so brief and succinct, and so pleasant to peruse. . . . The annotation all through is just what it should be, brief, suggestive, and clear.*"—CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"*Only those who have made a regular study of the subject can even guess what a quantity of reading has been necessary to put before the reader the results here set down.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*Alike in the critical introduction of eighty pages, in the introduction to each book, and in the notes, which are more extensive than the sacred text, the Bible is treated as a literary book on its human side, and as a completely inspired authority on its Divine side. Criticism, exegetics, and dogmatics, meet in a more harmonious unity than we have yet seen in the work of any one author on Scripture.*"—EDINBURGH DAILY REVIEW.

"*The work, to which the Editor must have devoted immense zeal and labour, promises to be, when completed, a valuable addition to Biblical literature.*"—MANCHESTER EXAMINER.

"*We are sure this 'Annotated Bible' will be rapidly recognised as a very important and valuable aid for Bible readers.*"—CHURCH REVIEW.

An Introduction to the Devotional

Study of the Holy Scriptures: with a Prefatory Essay on their Inspiration, and specimens of Meditations on various passages of them. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Tenth Edition, revised and enlarged. Small 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

"The value of this work is too well known to need any notice on our part. The sale of nine large editions is sufficient evidence of its appreciation. In this, the tenth edition, the author has added an essay on the Inspiration of Scripture, and appended some meditations originally printed in a detached form. By so doing he has added to the completeness, and therefore to the value of the volume. It is strictly of a devotional character, though in saying this we would not imply that the intellectual element was at all wanted. In its present form it will be welcomed by the devout members of the Church, and will assist in the devotional study of the Word of God."—JOHN BULL.

"When a book has reached its tenth edition little can be said in favour of its usefulness. It has proved its value by its popularity. This is the case with this volume of Dean Goulburn's. Still there will be many who have not yet made personal use of it, and to such we can heartily recommend this new edition. Previous to this issue, the whole work has been thoroughly reconsidered and revised, the essay on Inspiration rewritten, and a series of Meditations added. The whole forms a most desirable companion for all who seek to attain to a greater knowledge of the inner and spiritual teaching of Holy Writ."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

The Microscope of the New Testament.

By the late Rev. WILLIAM SEWELL, D.D., formerly Fellow of Exeter College, sometime Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Oxford, and Whitehall Preacher. Edited by the Rev. W. J. CRICHTON, M.A. 8vo. 14*s.*

"The style of the book, in which the results of the most scholarly investigations are set forth in comparatively popular language, ought to recommend it not only to the systematic Biblical student, but to the general reader whose mind is capable of being attracted by an earnest treatment of the grandest subject to which the human intellect can lead itself." — MANCHESTER COURIER.

"Will be a work of deep interest to reverent investigators of the Greek of the sacred canon. . . . Much light is thrown on various controverted passages of the New Testament, many difficulties are removed, and many obscure passages fully elucidated. We may instance as truly valuable additions to Biblical criticism the essays on "The Accounts of the Resurrection," and "The Last Scenes of our Lord's Life." Indeed, all earnest Biblical scholars will do well to procure this volume, and make it for a time their constant companion. We venture to think that when it has been so used, it will for the future be kept within easy reach for constant reference. It takes a laborious lifetime to produce such results as these."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

Analytical Notes on Obadiah and

Habakuk, for the use of Hebrew Students. By the Rev. WILLIAM RANDOLPH, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 8vo. 5*s.* 6*d.*

"Show a thoughtful study of the original, without the advantage of many modern appliances."—ACADEMY.

"Mr. Randolph is filling up a serious gap in exegetical literature, and has attempted to do for individual parts of the Hebrew Testament what Ellicott, Lightfoot, and others are doing for portions of the Greek Testament. We are glad to see he promises, if encouraged, to follow this volume up 'by others of a similar character.' Mr. Randolph's accurate distinctions of Hebrew words, and the pains he is at to convey the true meaning of the original, show him to be a laborious and conscientious worker."—IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL GAZETTE.

"This is intended for the use of Hebrew students, who will find here valuable help in mastering the subtle niceties of diction, the emphatic forms, and the artificial arrangement of sentences, so characteristic of the original. The accuracy of its Hebrew scholarship, and its clear insight into the most abstruse difficulttes of the language made use of by this prophetical writer, render the work invaluable even to the scholar."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

The Psalms. Translated from the Hebrew.

With Notes, chiefly Exegetical. By WILLIAM KAY, D.D., Rector of Great Leghs, late Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta. Third Edition. 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

"Like a sound Churchman, he reverences Scripture, upholding its authority against sceptics; and he does not denounce such as differ from him in opinion with a dogmatism unhappily too common at the present day. Hence, readers will be disposed to consider his conclusions worthy of attention; or perhaps to adopt them without inquiry. It is superfluous to say that the translation is better and more accurate on the whole than our received one, or that it often reproduces the sense of the original happily."—ATHENÆUM.

"Dr. Kay has profound reverence for Divine truth, and exhibits considerable reading, with the power to make use of it."—BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"The execution of the work is careful and scholarly."—UNION REVIEW.

"To mention the name of Dr. Kay is enough to secure respectful attention to his new translation of the Psalms. It is enriched with exegetical notes containing a wealth of sound learning, closely occasionally, perhaps too closely condensed. Good care is taken of the student not learned in Hebrew; we hope the Doctor's example will prevent any abuse of this consideration, and stimulate those who profit by it to follow him into the very text of the ancient Revelation."—JOHN BULL.

Ecclesiastes: the Authorized Version, with

a running Commentary and Paraphrase. By the Rev. THOS. PELHAM DALE, M.A., Rector of St. Vedast with St. Michael City of London, and late Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Ruling Ideas in Early Ages and their

Relation to Old Testament Faith. Lectures delivered to Graduates of the University of Oxford. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

"Has all the same marks of a powerful and original mind which we observed in the volume of University Sermons. Indeed, as a continuous study of the rudimentary conditions of human thought, even as developed under the immediate guidance of a Divine Teacher, this volume has a higher intellectual interest than the last."—SPECTATOR.

"Canon Mozley's volume must undeniably, we think, stand in the very front rank for its combination of philosophic breadth and depth of insight, with a thoroughly reverent treatment of its subject. . . . Treated with great ability, and with much richness of illustration. . . . They are entirely worthy of those on which we have commented."—GUARDIAN.

"One of the most remarkable books in the department of theology that has appeared in the present generation. Dr. Mozley has won a place in the foremost rank of religious philosophers. . . . It is a bold but successful attempt to explain the peculiar morality recognised in certain transactions of the Old Testament upon rational grounds. For the first time in our experience we have met with a satisfactory solution of what all students of the Bible have felt to be a most difficult problem. . . . We commend Dr Mozley's work as one which will accomplish in our day what Bishop Butler's did in his. It is one which should be read and studied by everybody."—CHURCHMAN (New York).

A Companion to the Old Testament;

being a Plain Commentary on Scripture History, down to the Birth of our Lord. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"A very compact summary of the Old Testament narrative, put together so as to explain the connection and bearing of its contents, and written in a very good tone; with a final chapter on the history of the Jews between the Old and New Testaments. It will be found very useful for its purpose. It does not confine itself to merely chronological difficulties, but comments briefly upon the religious bearing of the text also."—GUARDIAN.

"A most admirable Companion to the Old Testament, being far the most concise yet complete commentary on Old Testament history with which we have met. Here are combined orthodoxy and learning, an intelligent and at the same time interesting summary of the leading facts of the sacred story. It should be a text-book in every school, and its value is immensely enhanced by the copious and complete index."—JOHN BULL.

"This will be found a very valuable aid to the right understanding of the Bible. It throws the whole Scripture narrative into one from the creation downwards, the author thus condensing Prideaux, Shuckford, and Russell, and in the most reverential manner bringing to his aid the writings of all modern annotators and chronologists. The book is one that should have a wide circulation amongst teachers and students of all denominations."—BOOKSELLER.

"The handbook before us is so full and satisfactory, considering its compass, and sets forth the history of the old covenant with such conscientious minuteness, that it cannot fail to prove a godsend to candidates for examination in the Rudimenta Religionis as well as in the corresponding school at Cambridge."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

A Key to the Narrative of the Four Gospels.

By the Rev. JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Also a Cheap Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"This is very much the best book of its kind we have seen. The only fault is its shortness, which prevents its going into the details which would support and illustrate its statements. It is, however, a great improvement upon any book of its kind we know. It bears all the marks of being the condensed work of a real scholar, and of a divine too. The bulk of the book is taken up with a 'Life of Christ,' compiled from the Four Gospels, so as to exhibit its steps and stages and salient points."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"This book is no ordinary compendium, no mere 'cram-book;' still less is it an ordinary reading-book for schools; but the schoolmaster, the Sunday-school teacher, and the seeker after a comprehensive knowledge of Divine truth will find it worthy of its name. Canon Norris writes simply, reverently, without great display of learning, giving the result of much careful study in a short compass, and adorning the subject by the tenderness and honesty with which he treats it. We hope that this little book will have a very wide circulation, and that it will be studied; and we can promise that those who take it up will not readily put it down again."—RECORD.

"This is a golden little volume. . . . Its design is exceedingly modest. Canon Norris writes primarily to help 'younger students' in studying the Gospels. But this unpretending volume is one which all students may study with advantage. It is an admirable manual for those who take Bible Classes through the Gospels. Closely sifted in style, so that all is clear and weighty; full of unostentatious learning, and pregnant with suggestion; deeply reverent and altogether Evangelical in spirit; Canon Norris's book supplies a real want, and ought to be welcomed by all earnest and devout students of the Holy Gospels."—LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

A Key to the Narrative of the Acts of the Apostles.

By the Rev. JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Also a Cheap Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"The book is one which we can heartily recommend."—SPECTATOR.

"Few books have ever given us more unmixed pleasure than this."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"This is a sequel to Canon Norris's 'Key to the Gospels,' which was published two years ago, and which has become a general favourite. The sketch of the Acts of the Apostles is done in the same style; there is the same reverent spirit and quiet enthusiasm running through it, and the same instinct for seizing the leading points in the narrative."—RECORD.

A Devotional Commentary on the Gospel Narrative.

By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New Edition. 8 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5*s.* each. Sold separately. Or the Eight Volumes may be had in a Box, 45*s.*

THOUGHTS ON THE STUDY OF THE HOLY GOSPELS.

Characteristic Differences in the Four Gospels—Our Lord's Manifestations of Himself—The Rule of Scriptural Interpretation furnished by our Lord—Analogies of the Gospel—Mention of Angels in the Gospels—Places of our Lord's Abode and Ministry—Our Lord's mode of dealing with His Apostles—Conclusion.

A HARMONY OF THE FOUR EVANGELISTS.

Our Lord's Nativity—Our Lord's Ministry (second year)—Our Lord's Ministry (third year)—The Holy Week—Our Lord's Passion—Our Lord's Resurrection.

OUR LORD'S NATIVITY.

The Birth at Bethlehem—The Baptism in Jordan—The First Passover.

OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (Second Year).

The Second Passover—Christ with the Twelve—The Twelve sent forth.

OUR LORD'S MINISTRY (Third Year).

Teaching in Galilee—Teaching at Jerusalem—Last Journey from Galilee to Jerusalem.

THE HOLY WEEK.

The Approach to Jerusalem—The Teaching in the Temple—The Discourse on the Mount of Olives—The Last Supper.

OUR LORD'S PASSION.

The Hour of Darkness—The Agony—The Apprehension—The Condemnation—The Day of Sorrows—The Hall of Judgment—The Crucifixion—The Sepulture.

OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION.

The Day of Days—The Grave Visited—Christ appearing—The going to Emmaus—The Forty Days—The Apostles assembled—The Lake of Galilee—The Mountain in Galilee—The Return from Galilee.

"There is not a better companion to be found for the season than the beautiful 'Devotional Commentary on the Gospel Narrative,' by the Rev. Isaac Williams. A rich mine for devotional and theological study."—GUARDIAN.

"So infinite are the depths and so innumerable the beauties of Scripture, and more particularly of the Gospels, that there is some difficulty in describing the manifold excellences of Williams' exquisite Commentary. Deriving its profound appreciation of Scripture from the writings of the early Fathers, it is only what every student knows must be true to say, that it extracts a whole wealth of meaning from each sentence, each apparently faint allusion, each word in the text."—CHURCH REVIEW.

"Stands absolutely alone in our English literature; there is, we should say, no chance of its being superseded by any better book of its kind; and its merits are of the very highest order."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

WILLIAMS' DEVOTIONAL COMMENTARY—*Continued.*

"This is, in the truest sense of the word, a 'Devotional Commentary' on the Gospel narrative, opening out everywhere, as it does, the spiritual beauties and blessedness of the Divine message; but it is something more than this, it meets difficulties almost by anticipation, and throws the light of learning over some of the very darkest passages in the New Testament."—ROCK.

"It would be difficult to select a more useful present, at a small cost, than this series would be to a young man on his first entering into Holy Orders, and many, no doubt, will avail themselves of the republication of these useful volumes for this purpose. There is an abundance of sermon material to be drawn from any one of them."—CHURCH TIMES.

Female Characters of Holy Scripture.

A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

CONTENTS.

Eve—Sarah—Lot's Wife—Rebekah—Leah and Rachel—Miriam—Rahab—Deborah—Ruth—Hannah—The Witch of Endor—Bathsheba—Rizpah—The Queen of Sheba—The Widow of Zarephath—Jezebel—The Shunammite—Esther—Elizabeth—Anna—The Woman of Samaria—Joanna—The Woman with the Issue of Blood—The Woman of Canaan—Martha—Mary—Salome—The Wife of Pilate—Dorcas—The Blessed Virgin.

The Characters of the Old Testament.

A Series of Sermons. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

CONTENTS.

Adam—Abel and Cain—Noah—Abraham—Lot—Jacob and Esau—Joseph—Moses—Aaron—Pharaoh—Korah, Dathan, and Abiram—Balaam—Joshua—Samson—Samuel—Saul—David—Solomon—Elijah—Ahab—Elisha—Hezekiah—Josiah—Jeremiah—Ezekiel—Daniel—Joel—Job—Isaiah—The Antichrist.

The Apocalypse. With Notes and Reflections.

By the Rev ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Beginning of the Book of Genesis,

with Notes and Reflections. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Small 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Short Notes on the Greek Text of

the Acts of the Apostles. By J. HAMBLIN SMITH, M.A., of Gonville and Caius College, late Lecturer in Classics at S. Peter's College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 4s. 6d.

"This reprint of notes drawn up by the editor for the use of his own pupils twelve years ago, will be found most useful by all young students of the original text of the Book of the Acts. Believing that its author, in connection with his visit to Syracuse, studied the account of the Sicilian Expedition, Mr. Smith makes many references to Thucydides, whose sixth book has a large number of words and phrases in common with the Acts of the Apostles." —EDINBURGH DAILY REVIEW.

"These notes are the product of a careful study of the most recent and the most successful commentators. The classical and non-classical idioms are carefully explained, the historical allusions fully illustrated, and especial attention is given to derivation and technical scholarship, especially respecting the Greek synonyms, tenses, and particles. The geography and Church history of the Acts have considerable attention given to them, and in no other work on the subject intended for the young is this department of annotation wrought out so fully and serviceably for the young." —SCHOOL BOARD CHRONICLE.

Ecclesiastes for English Readers. The

Book called by the Jews Koheleth. Newly translated, with Introduction, Analysis, and Notes. By the Rev. W. H. B. PROBY, M.A., formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 4s. 6d.

The Ten Canticles of the Old Testa-

ment Canon, namely, the Songs of Moses (First and Second), Deborah, Hannah, Isaiah (First, Second, and Third), Hezekiah, Jonah, and Habakkuk. Newly translated, with Notes and Remarks on their Drift and Use. By the Rev. W. H. B. PROBY, M.A., formerly Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholar in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. 5s.

Genesis. With Notes. [The Hebrew Text,

with Literal Translation.] By the Rev. G. V. GARLAND, M.A., late Vicar of Aslacton, Norfolk. 8vo. 21s.

The Acts of the Deacons; being a

Commentary, Critical and Practical, upon the Notices of St. Stephen and St. Philip the Evangelist, contained in the Acts of the Apostles. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Second Edition. Small 8vo. 6s.

A Key to the Knowledge and Use of

the Holy Bible. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Theology," &c. &c. New Edition. Small 8vo. *2s. 6d.* Also a Cheap Edition, *1s. 6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"Another of Mr. Blunt's useful and workmanlike compilations, which will be most acceptable as a household book, or in schools and colleges. It is a capital book too for schoolmasters and pupil teachers. Its subject is arranged under the heads of—I. The Literary History of the Bible. II. Old Testament Writers and Writings. III. New Testament ditto. IV. Revelation and Inspiration. V. Objects of the Bible. VI. Interpretation of ditto. VII. The Bible a guide to Faith. VIII. The Apocrypha. IX. The Apocryphal Books associated with the New Testament. Lastly, there is a serviceable appendix of peculiar Bible words and their meanings."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"We have much pleasure in recommending a capital handbook by the learned Editor of 'The Annotated Book of Common Prayer.'"—CHURCH TIMES.

"Merits commendation, for the lucid and orderly arrangement in which it presents a considerable amount of valuable and interesting matter."—RECORD.

Daniel the Prophet: Nine Lectures

delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With copious Notes. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. Third Edition. 8vo. *10s. 6d.*

Commentary on the Minor Prophets;

with Introductions to the several Books. By the Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 4to. *31s. 6d.*

Parts I., II., III., IV., V., *5s.* each. Part VI., *6s.*

The Mystery of Christ: being an Exa-

mination of the Doctrine contained in the First Three Chapters of the Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians. By GEORGE STAUNTON BARROW, M.A., Vicar of Stowmarket. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Bible Readings for Family Prayer.

By the Rev. W. H. RIDLEY, M.A., Rector of Hambleden. Crown 8vo.

Old Testament—Genesis and Exodus. 2*s.*
The Four Gospels, 3*s.* 6*d.*
St. Matthew and St. Mark. 2*s.*
St. Luke and St. John. 2*s.*
The Acts of the Apostles, 2*s.*

A Complete Concordance to the Old

and the New Testament; or, a Dictionary, and Alphabetical Index to the Bible, in two Parts. To which is added, a Concordance to the Apocrypha. By ALEXANDER CRUDEN, M.A. With a Life of the Author, by ALEXANDER CHALMERS, F.S.A., and a Portrait. Sixteenth Edition. 4to. 21*s.*

The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its

Nature and Proof. Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin. By WILLIAM LEE, D.D., Archdeacon of Dublin. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 15*s.*

On the Inspiration of the Bible. Five

Lectures delivered at Westminster Abbey. By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. Eighth Edition. Small 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*, or in paper cover, 1*s.*

Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek

Testament. By the Rev. WILLIAM WEBSTER, M.A., late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. 8vo. 9*s.*

3. Devotional Works

Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics.

Elegantly printed with red borders, on extra superfine toned paper. Small 8vo. 5*s.* each.

OF THE IMITATION OF CHRIST. In 4 Books. By THOMAS À KEMPIS. A New Translation.

THE CHRISTIAN YEAR: Thoughts in Verse for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year.

THE SPIRITUAL COMBAT; together with the Supplement and the Path of Paradise. By LAURENCE SCUPOLI. A New Translation.

THE DEVOUT LIFE. By S. FRANCIS DE SALES, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. A New Translation.

THE LOVE OF GOD. By S. FRANCIS DE SALES, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. A New Translation.

THE CONFESSIONS OF S. AUGUSTINE. In 10 Books. A New Translation.

The Volumes can also be had in Morocco and other extra bindings.

Cheap Editions, 32*mo*, *cloth limp*, 6*d. each*, *or cloth extra*, *red edges*, 1*s. each.*

Of the Imitation of Christ.	The Hidden Life of the Soul.
The Spiritual Combat.	Spiritual Letters of S. Francis de Sales.
The Christian Year.	

These Five Volumes, cloth extra, may be had in a Box, price 7*s.*

[Other Volumes are in preparation.]

The Child Samuel. A Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Birth and Childhood of the Prophet Samuel, as recorded in 1 Sam. i., ii. 1-27, iii. Designed as a Help to Meditation on the Holy Scriptures for Children and Young Persons. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Small 8vo. 5*s.*

The Gospel of the Childhood: a Practical and Devotional Commentary on the Single Incident of our Blessed Lord's Childhood (St. Luke ii. 41 to the end); designed as a Help to Meditation on the Holy Scriptures, for Children and Young Persons. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Second Edition. Square crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Thoughts on Personal Religion; being a Treatise on the Christian Life in its Two Chief Elements, Devotion and Practice. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. New Edition. Small 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.* Also a Cheap Edition, 3*s.* 6*d.* Presentation Edition, elegantly printed on Toned Paper. Two vols. Small 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Pursuit of Holiness: a Sequel to "Thoughts on Personal Religion," intended to carry the Reader somewhat farther onward in the Spiritual Life. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D. Sixth Edition. Small 8vo. 5*s.* Also a Cheap Edition, 3*s.* 6*d.*

Short Devotional Forms, for Morning, Night, and Midnight, and for the Third, Sixth, Ninth Hours and Eventide of each Day of the Week. Arranged to meet the Exigencies of a Busy Life. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D. Fourth Edition. 32mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

The Star of Childhood: a First Book of

Prayers and Instruction for Children. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer. With Illustrations. Fourth Edition. Square 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

The Way of Life: a Book of Prayers and

Instruction for the Young at School, with a Preparation for Confirmation. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. Second Edition. 18mo. *1s. 6d.*

The Path of Holiness: a First Book of

Prayers, with the Service of the Holy Communion, for the Young. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. With Illustrations. Third Edition. Crown 16mo. *1s. 6d.*; cloth limp, *1s.*

The Treasury of Devotion: a Manual of

Prayer for General and Daily Use. Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. New Edition, in Large Type. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

Smaller Edition. 18mo. *2s. 6d.*; cloth limp, *2s.*, or bound with the Book of Common Prayer, *3s. 6d.*

The Guide to Heaven: a Book of Prayers

for every Want. (For the Working Classes.) Compiled by a Priest. Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. Seventh Edition. 18mo. *1s. 6d.*; cloth limp, *1s.*

Large-Type Edition. Crown 8vo. *1s. 6d.*; cloth limp, *1s.*

Meditations on the Life and Mysteries

of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. From the French. By the Compiler of "The Treasury of Devotion." Edited by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A. Crown 8vo.

Vol. I.—The Hidden Life of Our Lord. *3s. 6d.*
Vol. II.—The Public Life of Our Lord. 2 Parts. *5s.* each.
Vol. III.—The Suffering Life and the Glorified Life of Our Lord. *3s. 6d.*

Prayers and Meditations for the Holy

Communion. By JOSEPHINE FLETCHER. With a Preface by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. With red rubrics and borders. New Edition. Royal 32mo. *2s. 6d.*

An Edition without the red rubrics. 32mo. Cloth limp. *1s.*

"Devout beauty is the special character of this new manual, and it ought to be a favourite. Rarely has it happened to us to meet with so remarkable a combination of thorough practicalness with that almost poetic warmth which is the highest flower of genuine devotion."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"The Bishop recommends it to the newly confirmed, to the tender-hearted and the devout, as having been compiled by a youthful person, and as being marked by a peculiar 'freshness.' We have pleasure in seconding the recommendations of the good Bishop. We know of no more suitable manual for the newly confirmed, and nothing more likely to engage the sympathies of youthful hearts. There is a union of the deepest spirit of devotion, a rich expression of experimental life, with a due recognition of the objects of faith, such as is not always to be found, but which characterises this manual in an eminent degree."—CHURCH REVIEW.

"Among the supply of Eucharistic Manuals, one deserves special attention and commendation. 'Prayers and Meditations' merits the Bishop of Gloucester's epithets of 'warm, devout, and fresh.' And it is thoroughly English Church besides."—GUARDIAN.

"We are by no means surprised that Bishop Ellicott should have been so much struck with this little work, on accidentally seeing it in manuscript, as to urge its publication, and to preface it with his commendation. The devotion which it breathes is truly fervent, and the language attractive, and as proceeding from a young person the work is altogether not a little striking."—RECORD.

Words to Take with Us. A Manual of

Daily and Occasional Prayers, for Private and Common Use. With Plain Instructions and Counsels on Prayer. By W. E. SCUDAMORE, M.A., Rector of Ditchingham, and formerly Fellow of S. John's College, Cambridge. Fifth Edition, revised. Small 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Sunday Evenings in the Family.

Being Expositions of the Gospels and Articles of the Church of England. Small 8vo. *3s.*

Private Devotions for School-boys;

with Rules of Conduct. By WILLIAM HENRY, Third Lord Lyttelton. New Edition. 32mo. *6d.*

For Days and Years. A Book containing a Text, Short Reading, and Hymn for every Day in the Church's Year. Selected by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. 16mo. 2s. 6d.

"Here are no platitudes; no mere 'goody' talk; there is in each day's portion sound and healthful food for the mind and soul, and also for the imagination, whose need of support and guidance is too often forgotten. Text and comment and hymn are chosen with a pure and cultured taste, and by the religious earnestness which they show, tend to develop it in the reader. The book is, in fact, the best of its kind we have ever seen, and for the use of church people ought to supersede all others."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"Will be found exceedingly useful to those who thoughtfully read its contents. The readings have been carefully selected from the writings of some of the most eminent divines of ancient and modern times with whose names the majority of our readers will be familiar. The compiler has displayed considerable tact and judgment in making judicious selections, and in the general arrangement of the contents. This volume commends itself to the consideration of all devoted members of the Church."—COURT CIRCULAR.

"We heartily commend both the plan and the execution . . . The author has proved that good may be got from men of the most diverse minds."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

A Selection from Pascal's Thoughts. Translated by H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Square 16mo. Printed on Dutch hand-made paper. 3s. 6d.

"We should think highly of the spirituality and intellectual tastes of the man or woman who turned to this little book whenever the soul was weary, or the mind dull, or the heart careworn, or the spirit was aspiring.'—EDINBURGH DAILY REVIEW.

"Makes a charming little volume. Pascal is always of interest. . . . The Selection has been made with taste."—EXAMINER.

"Will be welcome as a gift-book, and will enrich and purify the mind of its readers, and suggests thoughts especially valuable in time of perplexity and doubt, as indeed all times are on this troublous earth. The simple-hearted, the learned, the witty, and the devout, all may learn something from these thoughts, and will certainly be the better for the learning."—JOHN BULL.

"An unusually excellent specimen of translation. [The translator] has a delicate sense for style, both French and English; and has the still rarer gift of perceiving and preserving in the latter the literary equivalents of the former language . . . . These selections really put Pascal's thought before us."—NATION (New York).

Faith and Life: Readings for the greater Holy Days, and the Sundays from Advent to Trinity. Compiled from Ancient Writers. By WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. Small 8vo. 5s.

Daily Gleanings of the Saintly Life.

Compiled by C. M. S., with an Introduction by the Rev. M. F. SADLER, M.A., Prebendary of Wells, and Rector of Honiton, Devon. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"The meditations are entirely taken from the works of 'the leading divines of the Great Catholic Revival in the Church of England in our own day.' The passages chosen are full of chastened beauty and wise instruction, and will bear comparison with the best of the manuals compiled from ancient sources. There is a wholesome Church of England tone about this volume not always to be found in manuals of this description."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

Self-Renunciation. From the French.

With an Introduction by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Also a Cheap Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"It is excessively difficult to review or criticise, in detail, a book of this kind, and yet its abounding merits, its practicalness, its searching good sense and thoroughness, and its frequent beauty, too, make us wish to do something more than announce its publication. . . . . The style is eminently clear, free from redundance and prolixity."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"Few save Religious and those brought into immediate contact with them are, in all probability, acquainted with the French treatise of Guilloré, a portion of which is now, for the first time we believe, done into English. . . . . Hence the suitableness of such a book as this for those who, in the midst of their families, are endeavouring to advance in the spiritual life. Hundreds of devout souls living in the world have been encouraged and helped by such books as Dr. Neale's 'Sermons preached in a Religious House.' For such the present work will be found appropriate, while for Religious themselves it will be invaluable."—CHURCH TIMES.

Spiritual Guidance. With an Introduction by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

EXTRACT FROM PREFACE.

["The special object of the volume is to supply practical advice in matters of conscience, such as may be generally applicable. While it offers, as it is hoped, much valuable help to Directors, it is full of suggestions, which may be useful to any one in private. It thus fulfils a double purpose, which is not, as far as I am aware, otherwise provided for, at least, not in so full and direct a manner."]

"As a work intended for general use, it will be found to contain much valuable help, and may be profitably studied by any one who is desiring to make progress in spiritual life. Much of the contents of this little book will be found more or less applicable to all persons amid the ordinary difficulties and trials of life, and a help to the training of the mind in habits of self-discipline."—CHURCH TIMES.

Voices of Comfort. Edited by the Rev.

THOMAS VINCENT FOSBERY, M.A., sometime Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

[This Volume, of prose and poetry, original and selected, aims at revealing the fountains of hope and joy which underlie the griefs and sorrows of life.

It is so divided as to afford readings for a month. The key-note of each day is given by the title prefixed to it, such as: 'The Power of the Cross of Christ, Day 6. Conflicts of the Soul, Day 17. The Communion of Saints, Day 20. The Comforter, Day 22. The Light of Hope, Day 25. The Coming of Christ, Day 28.' Each day begins with passages of Holy Scripture. These are followed by articles in prose, which are succeeded by one or more short prayers. After these are Poems or passages of poetry, and then very brief extracts in prose or verse close the section. The book is meant to meet, not merely cases of bereavement or physical suffering, but 'to minister specially to the hidden troubles of the heart, as they are silently weaving their dark threads into the web of the seemingly brightest life.']

Hymns and Poems for the Sick and Suffering.

In connexion with the Service for the Visitation of the Sick. Selected from various Authors. Edited by the Rev. THOMAS VINCENT FOSBERY, M.A., sometime Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading. New Edition. Small 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

[This Volume contains 233 separate pieces; of which about 90 are by writers who lived prior to the eighteenth century; the rest are modern, and some of these original. Amongst the names of the writers (between 70 and 80 in number) occur those of Sir J. Beaumont; Sir T. Brown; F. Davison; Elizabeth of Bohemia; P. Fletcher; G. Herbert; Dean Hickes; Bishop Ken; Norris; Quarles; Sandys; Bishop J. Taylor; Henry Vaughan; and Sir H. Wotton. And of modern writers:—Mrs. Barrett Browning; Bishop Wilberforce; S. T. Coleridge; Sir R. Grant; Miss E. Taylor; W. Wordsworth; Archbishop Trench; Rev. Messrs. Chandler, Keble, Lyte, Monsell, and Moultrie.]

The Christian Year: Thoughts in Verse

for the Sundays and Holydays throughout the Year. New Edition, printed in large type. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Elegantly printed with red borders. 16mo. *2s. 6d.* Cheap Edition, without the red borders, cloth limp, *1s.*; or in paper cover, *6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

Also New Editions, forming Volumes of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." Small 8vo. *5s.* 32mo, cloth limp, *6d.*; cloth extra, *1s.* [See page 19.]

Spiritual Letters to Men. By Archbishop Fénelon. By the Author of "Life of Fénelon," "Life of S. Francis de Sales," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"Clergy and laity alike will welcome this volume. Fénelon's religious counsels have always seemed to us to present the most remarkable combination of high principle and practical common-sense, and now in this English dress it is really wonderful how little of the aroma of their original expression has evaporated. Elder clergy will delight in comparing their own experiences with Fénelon's ways of treating the several classes of cases here taken in hand. To younger clergy it will be quite a series of specimen examples how to deal with that which is daily becoming a larger and larger department of the practical work of any really efficient clergyman, and laymen will find it so straightforward and intelligible, so utterly free from technicality, and so entirely sympathetic with a layman's position, that we hope it will be largely bought and read among them. A more useful work has rarely been done than giving these letters to English readers."—Church Quarterly Review.

"This volume should take a place amongst the most precious of the Christian classics."—Nonconformist.

"One of those renderings which by faithfulness to their original, and the idiomatic beauty of their style, are real works of art in their way. It is not too much to say that these Letters read as if they had been first written in English, and that by some master-hand. . . . Of the whole book it would be difficult to speak too highly."—Literary Churchman.

"Those who have the 'Life of Fénelon' by this author will not omit to add his 'Spiritual Letters.' They are unique for their delicacy and tenderness of sentiment, their subtle analysis of character, and deep insight into the human heart."—Church Eclectic (New York).

Spiritual Letters to Women. By Archbishop Fénelon. By the Author of "Life of Fénelon," "Life of S. Francis de Sales," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 6s.

"As for the 'Spiritual Letters,' they cannot be read too often, and each time we take them up we see new beauties in them. The time to read them is in the early morning, when they seem to breathe the very atmosphere of heaven, and have all the fragrance of fresh spiritual thought about them, as the flowers carry on their bosom the early dew. A stillness of devotion and wrapt contemplation of God and of heavenly things characterizes every page."—Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette.

"Writing such as this will do more to commend religion than all the vain dogmatic thunder in which so many of its professors indulge; whilst the sweet and tender piety which runs through every page will impress the reader with the highest conceivable respect for the character of the author."—Morning Advertiser.

"This is an exceedingly well-got-up edition, admirably translated, of Fénelon's celebrated 'Spiritual Letters.' The translation is by the author of the valuable Lives of Fenelon and Bossuet, and forms a very suitable companion to the previous work. Of the Letters themselves, there is no need to speak. The judgment to be formed of them depends so much on the point of view from which they are regarded; but any one will be ready to admit the beauty of their thoughts, the grace of their tone, and the nobility of their sentiments."—Examiner.

A Selection from the Spiritual Letters

of S. Francis de Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. Translated by the Author of "Life of S. Francis de Sales," "A Dominican Artist," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

"It is a collection of epistolary correspondence of rare interest and excellence. With those who have read the Life, there cannot but have been a strong desire to know more of so beautiful a character."—CHURCH HERALD.

"A few months back we had the pleasure of welcoming the Life of S. Francis de Sales. Here is the promised sequel:—the 'Selection from his Spiritual Letters' then announced:—and a great boon it will be to many. The Letters are addressed to people of all sorts:—to men and to women:—to laity and to ecclesiastics, to people living in the world, or at court, and to the inmates of Religious Houses. We hope that with our readers it may be totally needless to urge such a volume on their notice."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

Also a Cheap Edition, forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." 32mo, cloth limp, 6*d*.; cloth extra, 1*s*. [See page 19.]

A Manual for the Sick; with other

Devotions. By LANCELOT ANDREWES, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Winchester. Edited with a Preface by H. P. LIDDON, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's. With Portrait. Third Edition. Large type. 24mo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Our Work for Christ among His

Suffering People. A Book for Hospital Nurses. By M. A. MORRELL. Small 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

"The thoroughly sensible advice contained in this book cannot fail to be of the highest possible use; indeed, the whole work is so eminently practical, and deserves such hearty recognition, that we cordially recommend it, with the hope that it may find its way into the hands of all who minister to the sick within our hospital wards. The prayers at the end of the book seem exactly suited to their purpose, dealing as they do with the trials and necessities of a nurse's daily life."—JOHN BULL.

"It should be in the hands of every sick-nurse who desires to fulfil her duties from the highest and holiest motives."—CHURCH BELLS.

"Contains excellent advice on the subject of nursing, with the aim of raising its lowliest duties to a standard of high and holy motives."—GRAPHIC.

"This excellent little book is intended for a limited class of readers. but the practical lessons it teaches on how to sanctify the labour of nursing, and how to overcome its difficulties, may be read with profit by those who are called on to nurse as amateurs in private homes, as well as by those who have adopted the occupation as a profession."—AUNT JUDY'S MAGAZINE.

The English Poems of George Herbert,

together with his Collection of Proverbs, entitled JACULA PRUDENTUM. With red borders. 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series.

"This beautiful little volume will be found specially convenient as a pocket manual. The 'Jacula Prudentum,' or proverbs, deserve to be more widely known than they are at present. In many copies of George Herbert's writings these quaint sayings have been unfortunately omitted." —ROCK.

"George Herbert is too much a household name to require any introduction. It will be sufficient to say that Messrs. Rivington have published a most compact and convenient edition of the poems and proverbs of this illustrious English divine."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

"An exceedingly pretty edition, the most attractive form we have yet seen from this delightful author, as a gift-book."—UNION REVIEW.

"A very beautiful edition of the quaint old English bard. All lovers of the 'Holy' Herbert will be grateful to Messrs. Rivington for the care and pains they have bestowed in supplying them with this and withal convenient copy of poems so well known and so deservedly prized."—LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"A very tasteful little book, and will doubtless be acceptable to many." —RECORD.

"We commend this little book heartily to our readers. It contains Herbert's English poems and the 'Jacula Prudentum,' in a very neat volume, which does much credit to the publishers; it will, we hope, meet with extensive circulation as a choice gift-book at a moderate price."—CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

A Short and Plain Instruction for the

better Understanding of the Lord's Supper; to which is annexed the Office of the Holy Communion, with proper Helps and Directions. By the Right Rev. THOMAS WILSON, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Sodor and Man. Complete Edition, in large type, with rubrics and borders in red. 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

Also a Cheap Edition, without the red borders, *1s.*; or in paper cover, *6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

"The Messrs. Rivington have published a new and unabridged edition of that deservedly popular work, Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper. The edition is here presented in three forms, suited to the various members of the household."—PUBLIC OPINION.

"We cannot withhold the expression of our admiration of the style and elegance in which this work is got up."—PRESS AND ST. JAMES' CHRONICLE.

"A departed Author being dead yet speaketh in a way which will never be out of date; Bishop Wilson on the Lord's Supper, published by Messrs. Rivington, in bindings to suit all tastes and pockets."—CHURCH REVIEW.

Of the Imitation of Christ. By

Thomas à Kempis. With Red borders. 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

Also a Cheap Edition, without the red borders, *1s.*; or in paper cover, *6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

Also a New Translation, forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." Small 8vo. *5s.* 32mo, cloth limp, *6d.*; cloth extra, *1s.* [See page 19.]

Introduction to the Devout Life.

From the French of S. Francis de Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. A New Translation. With red borders. 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

Also a New Translation, forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." Small 8vo. *5s.* [See page 19.]

The Love of God. By S. Francis de Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva. Small 8vo. 5s.

Forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." [See page 19.]

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living.

By the Right Rev. Jeremy Taylor, D.D., sometime Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore. With red borders. 16mo. *2s. 6d.*

Also a Cheap Edition, without the red borders, *1s.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

The Confessions of S. Augustine. In

10 Books. A New Translation. Small 8vo. 5s.

Forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics. [See page 19.]

The Spirit of S. Francis de Sales, Bishop

and Prince of Geneva. Translated from the French by the Author of "The Life of S. Francis de Sales," "A Dominican Artist," &c: &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

"S. Francis de Sales, as shown to us by the Bishop of Belley, was clearly as bright and lively a companion as many a sinner of witty reputation. He was a student of human nature on the highest grounds, but he used his knowledge for amusement as well as edification. Naturally we learn this from one of his male friends rather than from his female adorers. This friend is Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Belley, author, we are told, of two hundred books—one only however still known to fame, the Spirit of S. Francis de Sales, which has fairly earned him the title of the ecclesiastical Boswell." —SATURDAY REVIEW.

"An admirable translation of Bishop Camus' well-known collection of sayings and opinions. As a whole, we can imagine no more delightful companion than 'The Spirit of S. Francis de Sales,' nor, we may add, a more useful one."—PEOPLE'S MAGAZINE.

The Hidden Life of the Soul. By the

Author of "A Dominican Artist," "Life of Bossuet," &c. &c. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Also a Cheap Edition, forming a Volume of the "Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics." 32mo. Cloth limp, 6*d*.; cloth extra, 1*s*. [See page 19.]

"It well deserves the character given it of being 'earnest and sober,' and not 'sensational.'"—GUARDIAN.

"From the French of Jean Nicolas Grou, a pious Priest, whose works teach resignation to the Divine will. He loved, we are told, to inculcate simplicity, freedom from all affectation and unreality, the patience and humility which are too surely grounded in self-knowledge to be surprised at a fall, but withal so allied to confidence in God as to make recovery easy and sure."—PUBLIC OPINION.

"There is a wonderful charm about these readings—so calm, so true, so thoroughly Christian. We do not know where they would come amiss. As materials for a consecutive series of meditations for the faithful at a series of early celebrations they would be excellent, or for private reading during Advent or Lent."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

A Practical Treatise concerning Evil

Thoughts: wherein their Nature, Origin, and Effect are distinctly considered and explained, with many Useful Rules for restraining and suppressing such Thoughts; suited to the various conditions of Life, and the several tempers of Mankind, more especially of melancholy Persons. By WILLIAM CHILCOT, M.A. New Edition. With red borders. 16mo. 2*s*. 6*d*.

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

The Devotional Birthday Book. [Intended to record the Birth of Relations and Friends. The Birthdays of celebrated people are printed in the Diary, with Devotional Extracts in Verse and Prose suitable to the season of the year.] With red borders. 16mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series.

The Rule and Exercises of Holy Dying. By the Right Rev. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D., sometime Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore. With red borders. 16mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Also a Cheap Edition, without the red borders, 1*s.*

The 'HOLY LIVING' and the 'HOLY DYING' may be had bound together in one Volume, 5*s.*; or without the red borders, 2*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

Ancient Hymns. From the Roman Breviary. For Domestic Use every Morning and Evening of the Week, and on the Holy Days of the Church. To which are added, Original Hymns, principally of Commemoration and Thanksgiving for Christ's Holy Ordinances. By RICHARD MANT, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. New Edition. Small 8vo. 5*s.*

"Real poetry wedded to words that breathe the purest and the sweetest spirit of Christian devotion. The translations from the old Latin Hymnal are close and faithful renderings." —STANDARD.

"As a Hymn writer Bishop Mant deservedly occupies a prominent place in the esteem of Churchmen, and we doubt not that many will be the readers who will welcome this new edition of his translations and original compositions."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

"A new edition of Bishop Mant's 'Ancient Hymns from the Roman Breviary' forms a handsome little volume, and it is interesting to compare some of these translations with the more modern ones of our own day. While we have no hesitation in awarding the palm to the latter, the former are an evidence of the earliest germs of that yearning of the devout mind for something better than Tate and Brady, and which is now so richly supplied."—CHURCH TIMES.

"The translations are graceful, clear, and forcible, and the original hymns deserve the highest praise. Bishop Mant has caught the very spirit of true psalmody, and there is a tuneful ring in his verses which especially adapts them for congregational singing."—ROCK.

Consoling Thoughts in Sickness.

Edited by HENRY BAILEY, B.D. Small 8vo. *1s. 6d.*; or in paper cover, *1s.*

Consolatio; or, Comfort for the Afflicted.

Edited by the Rev. C. E. KENNAWAY. With a Preface by SAMUEL WILBERFORCE, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Winchester. New Edition. Small 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

The Armoury of Prayer. A Book of Devotion.

Compiled by BERDMORE COMPTON, Vicar of All Saints', Margaret Street. 18mo. *3s. 6d.*

"It has a marked individuality of its own, and will no doubt meet with a certain number of persons—chiefly men, it is probable—to whose spiritual wants it is fitted above others. Those—and their number is far larger than is generally borne in mind—will find here a manual rich and abundant in its material for devotion, but remarkably modern *in its tone—fitted to express the feelings and to interpret the aspirations of a cultured* dweller in towns; *and it is emphatically a book of and for the times."*—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"The great characteristic of the book is its thorough reality. It puts into the mouth of the worshipper words which express, without exaggeration, what an earnest English Christian would feel and desire. The language is neither a reproduction of foreign or mediæval sentiment nor an affected reproduction of archaic forms, but good English of the Bible and Prayer Book type. . . . We could not wish the book to be different, and on the whole we heartily recommend it as one of the best we know."—CHURCH BELLS.

The Light of the Conscience.

By the Author of "The Hidden Life of the Soul," &c. With an Introduction by the Rev. T. T. CARTER, M.A., Rector of Clewer, Berks. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

"It is a book of counsels for those who wish to lead a pious and godly life, and may fill up a gap that has been felt since the external devotional habits of the advanced portion of the present generation have so much altered from those of the last, that the books of counsel previously in use are not deemed applicable to those who follow the full teachings of the extreme ritualistic party, for this book deals with the most 'advanced' customs."—GUARDIAN.

"It consists of four-and-thirty short chapters or readings, every one of them full of quiet, sensible, practical advice, and directions upon some one point of Christian living or Christian feeling. It is a very beautiful little book, and it is a most thoroughly Christian little book, and it is, moreover, what many good books fall short of being, namely, a very wise little book. Its calm, gentle sagacity is most striking."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

A Manual of Devotion, chiefly for the use of Schoolboys. By the Rev. WILLIAM BAKER, D.D., Head Master of Merchant Taylors' School. With Preface by J. R. WOODFORD, D.D., Lord Bishop of Ely. Crown 16mo. Cloth limp. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Family Prayers. Compiled from various Sources (chiefly from Bishop Hamilton's Manual), and arranged on the Liturgical Principle. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. New Edition. Large type. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* Cheap Edition. 16mo. 1*s.*

Morning Notes of Praise. A Series of Meditations upon the Morning Psalms. Dedicated to the Countess of Cottenham. By LADY CHARLOTTE-MARIA PEPYS. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Quiet Moments; a Four Weeks' Course of Thoughts and Meditations before Evening Prayer and at Sunset. By LADY CHARLOTTE-MARIA PEPYS. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Book of Family Prayer. Compiled by WALTER FARQUHAR HOOK, D.D., F.R.S., late Dean of Chichester. Eighth Edition, with Rubrics in Red. 18mo. 2*s.*

Aids to Prayer; or, Thoughts on the Practice of Devotion. With Forms of Prayer for Private Use. By DANIEL MOORE, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Paddington. Second Edition. Square 32mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Words of the Son of God, taken

from the Four Gospels, and arranged for Daily Meditation throughout the Year. By ELEANOR PLUMPTRE. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"*The quotations have been made judiciously, and contain much that is valuable and practically useful. . . . We sincerely unite with the compiler in her desire that the plan adopted in this volume may prove useful to its readers.*"—RECORD.

"*The authoress of this volume has woven together with loving care and reverent hand the sayings of the Son of God, and it will perhaps surprise some of those who have not viewed our Lord's words from this aspect to find how complete a manual they make of doctrine and practice. . . . We can most cordially recommend this volume to our readers, not only for personal use, but for reading at morning and evening prayer; while to the clergy it will, we believe, be found to be a thesaurus of golden sayings which will be both suggestive and useful.*" CHURCHMAN'S SHILLING MAGAZINE.

The Good Shepherd; or, Meditations

for the Clergy upon the Example and Teaching of Christ. By the Rev. W. E. HEYGATE, M.A., Rector of Brighstone. Second Edition, revised. Small 8vo. 3*s.*

CONTENTS.

Thoughts on Meditation—Devotions Preparatory to Ordination—Early Life—Temptation—Fasting—Prayer—Divine Scripture—Retirement—Frequent Communion—Faith—Hope—Love—Preaching—Catechizing—Private Explanation—Intercession—Bringing Christians to Holy Communion—Preparation of those about to Communicate—Jesus absolving Sinners—Jesus celebrating the Eucharist—Care of Children—Care of the Sick and Afflicted—The Healing of Schism—Treatment of the Worldly—Treatment of Penitents—Care of God's House—Fear and Fearlessness of Offence—Bearing Reproach—Bearing Praise—Seeking out Sinners—Sorrow over Sinners—Consoling the Sorrowful—Rebuke—Silence—Disappointment—Compassion—Refusing those who suppose Godliness to be Gain—Peace-giving—Poverty—Opportunities of Speech—With Christ or Without—Watchfulness—In what to Glory—The Salt which has lost its Savour—Hard Cases—Weariness—Falling Back—Consideration for Others—Love of Pre-eminence—The Cross my Strength—The Will of God—The Fruit of Humiliation—The Praise of the World the Condemnation of God—Jesus rejoicing—Work while it is Day—Meeting again—The Reward. Further Prayers suitable to the Clergy—Prayer for the Flock—A General Prayer—Celebration of the Holy Eucharist—Preaching—Visitation.

The Virgin's Lamp: Prayers and Devout

Exercises for English Sisters. By the Rev. J. M. NEALE, D.D., late Warden of Sackville College, East Grinsted. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Guide of Life: a Manual of

Prayers for Women; with the Office of the Holy Communion, and Devotions. By C. E. SKINNER. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HEWETT, M.A., Vicar of Babbacombe, Devon. Crown 16mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

"Clergymen will be glad to know of this little manual as one which they may most safely put into the hands of intelligent women of the better class of those who have to work for their living. It is very complete in its scope, and it is not only a manual of devotions, but is really what it is entitled, 'a Guide of Life,' and is evidently the work of one who thoroughly understands the needs and the trials of the important class for which it is intended."—CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"A very excellent manual for single young women. The prayers are marked with a strong common-sense tone which is especially commendable."—CHURCH TIMES.

"Well-selected prayers and hymns for all estates and conditions of womankind. It is earnest, devout, and withal, sober and loyal in its tone."—JOHN BULL.

Sickness; its Trials and Blessings.

Fine Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* Cheap Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*; or in paper cover, 1*s.*

Help and Comfort for the Sick Poor.

By the same Author. New Edition. Small 8vo. 1*s.*

Prayers for the Sick and Dying. By

the same Author. Fourth Edition. Small 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

From Morning to Evening: a Book for

Invalids. From the French of M. l'Abbé Henri Perreyve. Translated and adapted by an Associate of the Sisterhood of S. John Baptist, Clewer. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Vita et Doctrina Jesu Christi; or,

Meditations on the Life of our Lord. By AVANCINI. In the Original Latin. Adapted to the use of the Church of England by a CLERGYMAN. 18mo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

The Mysteries of Mount Calvary. Translated from the Latin of Antonio de Guevara. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Square crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Counsels on Holiness of Life. Translated from the Spanish of "The Sinner's Guide" by Luis de Granada. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Square crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Preparation for Death. Translated from the Italian of Alfonso, Bishop of S. Agatha. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Square crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Examination of Conscience upon Special Subjects. Translated and abridged from the French of Tronson. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. Square crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Christian Watchfulness, in the Prospect of Sickness, Mourning, and Death. By JOHN JAMES, D.D., sometime Canon of Peterborough. New Edition. 12mo. 3*s.*

4. Parish Work.

The Book of Church Law. Being an

Exposition of the Legal Rights and Duties of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A. Revised by WALTER G. F. PHILLIMORE, D.C.L., Barrister-at-Law, and Chancellor of the Diocese of Lincoln. Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.—THE CHURCH AND ITS LAWS.—The Constitutional Status of the Church of England—The Law of the Church of England—The Administration of Church Law.

BOOK II.—THE MINISTRATIONS OF THE CHURCH.—Holy Baptism—Confirmation—The Holy Communion—Divine Service in General—Holy Matrimony—The Churching of Women—The Visitation of the Sick—The Practice of Confession—The Burial of the Dead.

BOOK III.—THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY.—Holy Orders—Licensed Curates—The Cure of Souls.

BOOK IV.—PAROCHIAL LAY OFFICERS.—Churchwardens—Church Trustees—Parish Clerks, Sextons and Beadles—Vestries.

BOOK V.—CHURCHES AND CHURCHYARDS.—The Acquisition of Churches and Churchyards as Ecclesiastical Property—Churches and Ecclesiastical Persons—Churches and Secular Persons.

BOOK VI.—THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY.—Incomes—Parsonage Houses—The Sequestration of Benefices.

APPENDIX.—The Canons of 1603 and 1865—The Church Discipline Act of 1840—The Benefices Resignation Act of 1871—The Ecclesiastical Dilapidations Act of 1871—The Sequestration Act of 1871—The Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874—Index.

"*We have tested this work on various points of a crucial character, and have found it very accurate and full in its information. It embodies the results of the most recent Acts of the Legislature on the clerical profession and the rights of the laity.*"—STANDARD.

"*Already in our leading columns we have directed attention to Messrs. Blunt and Phillimore's 'Book of Church Law,' as an excellent manual for ordinary use. It is a book which should stand on every clergyman's shelves ready for use when any legal matter arises about which its possessor is in doubt. . . . It is to be hoped that the authorities at our Theological Colleges sufficiently recognise the value of a little legal knowledge on the part of the clergy to recommend this book to their students. It would serve admirably as the text-book for a set of lectures.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

Flowers and Festivals; or, Directions

for the Floral Decoration of Churches. By W. A BARRETT, Mus. Bac., Oxon., of St. Paul's Cathedral. With Coloured Illustrations. Second Edition. Square crown 8vo. 5*s.*

The Chorister's Guide. By W. A. BARRETT, Mus. Bac., Oxon., of St. Paul's Cathedral. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

"*. . . One of the most useful books of instructions for choristers—and, we may add, choral singers generally—that has ever emanated from the musical press. . . Mr. Barrett's teaching is not only conveyed to his readers with the consciousness of being master of his subject, but he employs words terse and clear, so that his meaning may be promptly caught by the neophyte. . . .*"—ATHENÆUM.

"*A nicely graduated, clear, and excellent introduction to the duties of a chorister.*"—STANDARD.

"*It seems clear and precise enough to serve its end.*"—EXAMINER.

"*A useful manual for giving boys such a practical and technical knowledge of music as shall enable them to sing both with confidence and precision.*"—CHURCH HERALD.

"*In this little volume we have a manual long called for by the requirements of church music. In a series of thirty-two lessons it gives, with an admirable conciseness, and an equally observable completeness, all that is necessary a chorister should be taught out of a book, and a great deal calculated to have a value as bearing indirectly upon his actual practice in singing.*"—MUSICAL STANDARD.

"*We can highly recommend the present able manual.*"—EDUCATIONAL TIMES.

"*A very useful manual, not only for choristers, or rather those who may aim at becoming choristers, but for others, who wish to enter upon the study of music.*"—ROCK.

"*The work will be found of singular utility by those who have to instruct choirs.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*A most grateful contribution to the agencies for improving our Services. It is characterised by all that clearness in combination with conciseness of style which has made 'Flowers and Festivals' so universally admired.*"—TORONTO HERALD.

Priest and Parish. By the Rev. HARRY JONES, M.A., Rector of St. George's-in-the-East, London. Square crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

Notes on Church Organs: their Position and the Materials used in their Construction. By C. K. K. BISHOP. With Illustrations. Small 4to. 6*s.*

Stones of the Temple; or, Lessons

from the Fabric and Furniture of the Church. By WALTER FIELD, M.A., F.S.A., late Vicar of Godmersham. With numerous Illustrations. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"Any one who wishes for simple information on the subjects of Church architecture and furniture, cannot do better than consult 'Stones of the Temple.' Mr. Field modestly disclaims any intention of supplanting the existing regular treatises, but his book shows an amount of research, and a knowledge of what he is talking about, which make it practically useful as well as pleasant. The woodcuts are numerous, and some of them very pretty."—GRAPHIC.

"A very charming book, by the Rev. Walter Field, who was for years Secretary of one of the leading Church Societies. Mr. Field has a loving reverence for the beauty of the domus mansionalis Dei, *as the old law books called the Parish Church. . . . . Thoroughly sound in Church feeling, Mr. Field has chosen the medium of a tale to embody real incidents illustrative of the various portions of his subject. There is no attempt at elaboration of the narrative, which, indeed, is rather a string of anecdotes than a story, but each chapter brings home to the mind its own lesson, and each is illustrated with some very interesting engravings. . . . The work will properly command a hearty reception from Churchmen. The footnotes are occasionally most valuable, and are always pertinent, and the text is sure to be popular with young folks for Sunday reading."*—STANDARD.

"Mr. Field's chapters on brasses, chancel screens, crosses, encaustic tiles, mural paintings, porches and pavements, are agreeably written, and people with a turn for Ritualism will no doubt find them edifying. The illustrations of Church architecture and Church ornaments are very attractive."—PALL MALL GAZETTE.

"'Stones of the Temple' is a grave book, the result of antiquarian, or rather ecclesiological, tastes and of devotional feelings. We can recommend it to young people of both sexes, and it will not disappoint the most learned among them. . . . Mr. Field has brought together, from well-known authorities, a considerable mass of archæological information, which will interest the readers he especially addresses."—ATHENÆUM.

"Very appropriate as a Christmas present, is an elegant and instructive book. . . . A full and clear account of the meaning and history of the several parts of the fabric and of the furniture of the Church. It is illustrated with a number of carefully drawn pictures, sometimes of entire churches, sometimes of remarkable monuments, windows, or wall paintings. We may add that the style of the commentary, which is cast in the form of a dialogue between a parson and some of his parishioners, and hangs together by a slight thread of story, is quiet and sensible, and free from exaggeration or intolerance."—GUARDIAN.

A Handy Book on the Ecclesiastical

Dilapidations Act, 1871. With the Amendment Act, 1872. By EDWARD G. BRUTON, F.R.I.B.A., Diocesan Surveyor, Oxford, With Analytical Index and Precedent Forms. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

The Bishopric of Souls.

By ROBERT WILSON EVANS, B.D., late Vicar of Heversham and Archdeacon of Westmoreland. With an Introductory Memoir by EDWARD BICKERSTETH, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. With Portrait. Fifth Edition. Small 8vo. *5s. 6d.*

Twenty-One Years in S. George's

Mission. An account of its Origin, Progress, and Work of Charity. With an Appendix. By C. F. LOWDER, M.A., Vicar of S. Peter's, London Docks. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

Directorium Pastorale. The Principles

and Practice of Pastoral Work in the Church of England. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. New Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

"This is the third edition of a work which has become deservedly popular as the best extant exposition of the principles and practice of the pastoral work in the Church of England. Its hints and suggestions are based on practical experience, and it is further recommended by the majority of our Bishops at the ordination of priests and deacons."—STANDARD.

"Its practical usefulness to the parochial clergy is proved by the acceptance it has already received at their hands, and no faithful parish priest, who is working in real earnest for the extension of spiritual instruction amongst all classes of his flock, will rise from the perusal of its pages without having obtained some valuable hints as to the best mode of bringing home our Church's system to the hearts of his people."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

Ars Pastoria.

By FRANK PARNELL, M.A., Rector of Oxtead, near Godstone. Second Edition. Small 8vo. *2s.*

Instructions for the Use of Candidates

for Holy Orders, and of the Parochial Clergy; with Acts of Parliament relating to the same, and Forms proposed to be used. By CHRISTOPHER HODGSON, M.A., Secretary to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty. Ninth Edition. 8vo. *16s.*

The Church Builder: a Quarterly Journal

of Church Extension in England and Wales. Published in connexion with "The Incorporated Church Building Society." 14 Annual Volumes. With Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

New Series. Enlarged. Volumes for 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1879. 3*s.* each.

List of Charities, General and Diocesan,

for the Relief of the Clergy, their Widows and Families. New Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.*

5. The Church and Doctrine.

The Holy Catholic Church; its Divine Ideal, Ministry, and Institutions.

A short Treatise. With a Catechism on each Chapter, forming a Course of Methodical Instruction on the subject. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

What the Church is, and when and how it was founded—Duty of the Church towards those who hold to the Apostles' doctrine, in separation from the Apostles' fellowship—The Unity of the Church, and its Disruption—The Survey of Zion's towers, bulwarks, and palaces—The Institution of the Ministry, and its relation to the Church—The Holy Eucharist at its successive stages—On the powers of the Church in Council—The Church presenting, exhibiting, and defending the Truth—The Church guiding into and illustrating the Truth—On the Prayer-Book as a Commentary on the Bible—Index.

"*Dr. Goulburn has conferred a great boon on the Church of England by the treatise before us, which vindicates her claim as a branch of the Catholic Church on the allegiance of her children, setting forth as he does, with singular precision and power, the grounds of her title-deeds, and the Christian character of her doctrine and discipline.*"—STANDARD.

"*His present book would have been used for an educational book even if he had not invited men to make that use of it by appending a catechism to each particular chapter, and thus founding a course of methodical instruction upon his text. We have not yet come across any better book for giving to Dissenters or to such inquirers as hold fast to Holy Scripture. It is, we need scarcely say, steeped in Scripturalness, and full of bright and suggestive interpretations of particular texts.*"—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

"*Must prove highly useful, not only to young persons, but to the very large class, both Churchmen and Dissenters, who are painfully ignorant of what the Catholic Church really is, and of the peculiar and fixed character of her institutions.*"—ROCK.

"*The catechetical questions and answers at the end of each chapter will be useful both for teachers and learners, and the side-notes at the head of the paragraphs are very handy.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*It contains a great deal of instructive matter, especially in the catechisms—or, as they might be called, dialogues—and is instinct with a spirit at once temperate and uncompromising. It is a good book for all who wish to understand, neither blindly asserting it nor being half ashamed of it, the position of a loyal member of the English Church.*"—GUARDIAN.

Dictionary of Sects, Heresies, Ecclesiastical

Parties and Schools of Religious Thought. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology," the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Imperial 8vo. 36*s.*; or in half-morocco, 48*s.*

"We doubt not that the Dictionary will prove a useful work of reference; and it may claim to give in reasonable compass a mass of information respecting many religious schools knowledge of which could previously only be acquired from amid a host of literature. The articles are written with great fairness, and in many cases display careful scholarly work."—ATHENÆUM.

"A very comprehensive and bold undertaking, and is certainly executed with a sufficient amount of ability and knowledge to entitle the book to rank very high in point of utility."—GUARDIAN.

"That this is a work of some learning and research is a fact which soon becomes obvious to the reader."—SPECTATOR.

"A whole library is condensed into this admirable volume. All authorities are named, and an invaluable index is supplied."—NOTES AND QUERIES.

"We have tested it rigidly, and in almost every instance we have been satisfied with the account given under the name of sects, heresy, or ecclesiastical party."—JOHN BULL.

"It is the fullest and most trustworthy book of the kind that we possess. The quantity of information it presents in a convenient and accessible form is enormous, and having once appeared, it becomes indispensable to the theological student."—CHURCH TIMES.

"It has considerable value as a copious work of reference, more especially since a list of authorities is in most cases supplied."—EXAMINER.

The Doctrine of the Church of England,

as stated in Ecclesiastical Documents set forth by Authority of Church and State, in the Reformation Period between 1536 and 1662. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology," the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Orthodox Doctrine of the Church

of England explained in a Commentary on the Thirty-Nine Articles. By the Rev. T. I. BALL. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. J. E. BENNETT, M.A., Vicar of Frome-Selwood. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical

Theology. By Various Writers. Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of the "Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Second Edition. Imperial 8vo. 42*s.*; or in half-morocco, 52*s.* 6*d.*

"*We know no book of its size and bulk which supplies the information here given at all; far less which supplies it in an arrangement so accessible, with a completeness of information so thorough, and with an ability in the treatment of profound subjects so great. Dr. Hook's most useful volume is a work of high calibre, but it is the work of a single mind. We have here a wider range of thought from a greater variety of sides. We have here also the work of men who evidently know what they write about, and are somewhat more profound (to say the least) than the writers of the current Dictionaries of Sects and Heresies.*"—GUARDIAN.

"*Thus it will be obvious that it takes a very much wider range than any undertaking of the same kind in our language; and that to those of our clergy who have not the fortune to spend in books, and would not have the leisure to use them if they possessed them, it will be the most serviceable and reliable substitute for a large library we can think of. And in many cases, while keeping strictly within its province as a Dictionary, it contrives to be marvellously suggestive of thought and reflections, which a serious-minded man will take with him and ponder over for his own elaboration and future use. We trust most sincerely that the book may be largely used. For a present to a Clergyman on his ordination, or from a parishioner to his pastor, it would be most appropriate. It may indeed be called 'a box of tools for a working clergyman.*'"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"*Seldom has an English work of equal magnitude been so permeated with Catholic instincts, and at the same time seldom has a work on theology been kept so free from the drift of rhetorical incrustation. Of course, it is not meant that all these remarks apply in their full extent to every article. In a great Dictionary there are compositions, as in a great house there are vessels, of various kinds. Some of these at a future day may be replaced by others more substantial in their build, more proportionate in their outline, and more elaborate in their detail. But admitting all this, the whole remains a home to which the student will constantly recur, sure to find spacious chambers, substantial furniture, and (which is most important) no stinted light.*"—CHURCH REVIEW.

"*Within the sphere it has marked out for itself, no equally useful book of reference exists in English for the elucidation of theological problems. . . . Entries which display much care, research, and judgment in compilation, and which will make the task of the parish priest who is brought face to face with any of the practical questions which they involve far easier than has been hitherto. The very fact that the utterances are here and there somewhat more guarded and hesitating than quite accords with our judgment, is a gain in so far as it protects the work from the charge of inculcating extreme views, and will thus secure its admission in many places where moderation is accounted the crowning grace.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*It will be found of admirable service to all students of theology, as advancing and maintaining the Church's views on all subjects as fall within the range of fair argument and inquiry. It is not often that a work of so comprehensive and so profound a nature is marked to the very end by so many signs of wide and careful research, sound criticism, and well-founded and well-expressed belief.*"—STANDARD.

An Eirenicon of the Eighteenth Century.

Proposal for Catholic Communion. By a Minister of the Church of England. Edited by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A. New Edition. With Introduction, Appendices, and Notes. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

"His especial merit is that of putting it in a form sufficiently simple and telling to come home to the understandings of all fairly educated persons, however unversed in the technicalities of controversial divinity."—CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"Mr. Oxenham has disinterred, and here presents to the public, an historical curiosity. . . . To this treatise he has prefixed a highly-interesting sketch of the various attempts which have been made from time to time to re-establish communion between the Churches."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"All interested in Reunion will welcome the reprint of an important book on this great subject. . . . It certainly is the most important contribution to the Reunion movement since the celebrated 'Essays,' and deserves to be read and preserved by all peacemakers."—REUNION MAGAZINE.

Apostolical Succession in the Church of England.

By the Rev. ARTHUR W. HADDAN, B.D., late Rector of Barton-on-the-Heath. New Edition. 8vo. 12*s.*

"Thoroughly well written, clear and forcible in style, and fair in tone. It cannot but render valuable service in placing the claims of the Church in their true light before the English public."—GUARDIAN.

"Among the many standard theological works devoted to this important subject Mr. Haddan's will hold a high place."—STANDARD.

"We should be glad to see the volume widely circulated and generally read."—JOHN BULL.

"A weighty and valuable treatise, and we hope that the study of its sound and well-reasoned pages will do much to fix the importance, and the full meaning of the doctrine in question, in the minds of Church people. . . . We hope that our extracts will lead our readers to study Mr. Haddan for themselves."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"This is not only a very able and carefully written treatise upon the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, but it is also a calm yet noble vindication of the validity of the Anglican Orders: it well sustains the brilliant reputation which Mr. Haddan left behind him at Oxford, and it supplements his other profound historical researches in ecclesiastical matters. This book will remain for a long time the classic work upon English Orders."—CHURCH REVIEW.

"A very temperate and well-reasoned book."—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

The Civil Power in its Relations to the Church;

considered with Special Reference to the Court of Final Ecclesiastical Appeal in England. By the Rev. JAMES WAYLAND JOYCE, M.A., Prebendary of Hereford, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Hereford. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Theory of Development. A Criti-

cism of Dr. Newman's Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine, reprinted from "The Christian Remembrancer," January 1847. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Miscellanies, Literary and Religious.

By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln. 3 Vols. 8vo. 36*s.*

The Holy Angels: Their Nature and

Employments, as recorded in the Word of God. Small 8vo. 6*s.*

The Principal Ecclesiastical Judg-

ments delivered in the Court of Arches, 1867-1875. By the Right Hon. Sir ROBERT PHILLIMORE, D.C.L. 8vo. 12*s.*

Our Mother Church: being Simple Talk

on High Topics. By ANNE MERCIER. New Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"We have rarely come across a book dealing with an old subject in a healthier and, as far as may be, more original manner, while yet thoroughly practical. It is intended for and admirably adapted to the use of girls. Thoroughly reverent in its tone, and bearing in every page marks of learned research, it is yet easy of comprehension, and explains ecclesiastical terms with the accuracy of a lexicon without the accompanying dulness. It is to be hoped that the book will attain to the large circulation it justly merits."—JOHN BULL.

"We have never seen a book for girls of its class which commends itself to us more particularly. The author calls her work 'simple talk on great subjects,' and calls it by a name that describes it almost as completely as we could do in a longer notice than we can spare the volume. No one can fail to comprehend the beautifully simple, devout, and appropriate language in which Mrs. Mercier embodies what she has to say; and for the facts with which she deals she has taken good care to have their accuracy assured."—STANDARD.

"The plan of this pleasant-looking book is excellent. It is a kind of Mrs. Markham on the Church of England, written especially for girls, and we shall not be surprised to find it become a favourite in schools. It is really a conversational hand-book to the English Church's history, doctrine, and ritual, compiled by a very diligent reader from some of the best modern Anglican sources."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

After Death. An Examination of Primitive Times respecting the State of the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship to the Living. In Two Parts. By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Canon of Ely, Principal of the Theological College, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop, and sometime Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo. 6*s*.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—*The State of the Faithful Dead and the Good Offices of the Living in their Behalf:* Vincentian Canon—Value of the Testimony of the Primitive Fathers—The Intermediate State—Change in the Intermediate State—Prayers for the Dead: Reasons for our Lord's Silence on the Subject—Testimony of Holy Scripture—Testimony of the Catacombs—Testimony of the Early Fathers—Testimony of the Primitive Liturgies—Prayers for the Pardon of Sins of Infirmity and the Effacement of Sinful Stains—Inefficacy of Prayer for those who died in wilful unrepented Sin.

PART II.—*The Good Offices of the Faithful Dead in Behalf of the Living:* Primitive Testimony to the Intercession of the Saint—Primitive Testimony to the Invocation of the Saints—Trustworthiness of the Patristic Evidence for Invocation tested—The Primitive Liturgies and the Roman Catacombs—Patristic Opinion on the extent of the Knowledge possessed by the Saints—Testimony of Holy Scripture upon the same Subject—Beatific Vision not yet attained by any of the Saints—Conclusions drawn from the foregoing Testimony.

Out of the Body. A Scriptural Inquiry. By the Rev. JAMES S. POLLOCK, M.A., Incumbent of S. Alban's, Birmingham. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

Introduction—Scope of the Inquiry—The Presentiment—The Anticipation—The Departure—The Life of the Body—The Life of the Spirit—Dream-Life—The Spirit-World—Spirit-Groups—Helping one another—Limits of Communication—Spiritual Manifestations.

Prophecies and the Prophetic Spirit in the Christian Era: an Historical Essay. By JOHN J. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER, D.D., D.C.L. Translated, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendices, by the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., Master of University College, Durham, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. 8vo. 10*s*. 6*d*.

Lectures on the Reunion of the Churches. By JOHN J. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER, D.D., D.C.L. Authorized Translation, with Preface by HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, M.A., late Scholar of Balliol College, Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

Eight Lectures on the Miracles; being

the Bampton Lectures for 1865. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity Oxford. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

"There is great brightness and beauty in many of the images in which the author condenses the issues of his arguments. And many passages are marked by that peculiar kind of eloquence which comes with the force of close and vigorous thinking; passages which slime-like steal through their very temper, and which are instinct with a controlled energy, that melts away all ruggedness of language. There can be no question that, in the deeper qualities of a scientific theology, the book is thoroughly worthy of the highest reputation which had been gained by Mr. Mozley's previous writings."—CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

"Mr. Mozley's Bampton Lectures are an example, and a very fine one, of a mode of theological writing which is characteristic of the Church of England, and almost peculiar to it. The distinguishing features, a combination of intense seriousness with a self-restrained, severe calmness, and of very vigorous and wide-ranging reasoning on the realities of the case. . . . . Mr. Mozley's book belongs to that class of writings of which Butler may be taken as the type. It is strong, genuine argument about difficult matters, fairly facing what is difficult, fairly trying to grapple, not with what appears the gist and strong point of a question, but with what really and at bottom is the knot of it."—TIMES.

The Happiness of the Blessed con-

sidered as to the Particulars of their State: their Recognition of each other in that State: and its Differences of Degrees. To which are added Musings on the Church and her Services. By RICHARD MANT, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Down and Connor. New Edition. Small 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

"A welcome republication of a treatise once highly valued, and which can never lose its value. Many of our readers already know the fulness and discrimination with which the author treats his subject, which must be one of the most delightful topics of meditation to all whose hearts are where the only true treasure is, and particularly to those who are entering upon the evening of life."—CHURCH REVIEW.

"All recognise the authority of the command to set the affections on things above, and such works as the one now before us will be found helpful towards this good end. We are, therefore, sincerely glad that Messrs. Rivington have brought out a new edition of Bishop Mant's valuable treatise."—RECORD.

St. John Chrysostom's Liturgy. Trans-

lated by H. C. ROMANOFF, Author of "Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church," &c. With Illustrations. Square crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

Dogmatic Faith: an Inquiry into the Relation subsisting between Revelation and Dogma. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1867. By EDWARD GARBETT, M.A., Incumbent of Christ Church, Surbiton. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Thirty-two Years of the Church of England, 1842-1875: The Charges of Archdeacon SINCLAIR. Edited by WILLIAM SINCLAIR, M.A., Prebendary of Chichester, Rector of Pulborough, late Vicar of S. George's, Leeds. With a Preface by ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL TAIT, D.D., Archbishop of Canterbury, and a Historical Introduction by ROBERT CHARLES JENKINS, M.A., Hon. Canon of Canterbury, Rector and Vicar of Lyminge. 8vo. 12*s.* 6*d.*

The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England explained in a Series of Lectures. By the Rev. R. W. JELF, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, and sometime Principal of King's College, London. Edited by the Rev. J. R. KING, M.A., Vicar of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford, and formerly Fellow and Tutor of Merton College. 8vo. 15*s.*

Letters from Rome on the Council. By QUIRINUS. Reprinted from the "Allgemeine Zeitung." Authorized Translation. Crown 8vo. 12*s.*

The Pope and the Council. By JANUS. Authorized Translation from the German. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

6. Sermons.

Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford. (Second Series, 1860-1879.) By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's, and Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford. Crown 8vo. 5s.

CONTENTS.

Prejudice and Experience—Humility and Truth—Import of Faith in a Creator—Worth of Faith in a Life to Come—Influences of the Holy Spirit—Growth in the Apprehension of Truth—The Life of Faith and the Athanasian Creed—Christ's Service and Public Opinion—Christ in the Storm—Sacerdotalism—The Prophecy of the Magnificat—The Fall of Jericho—The Courage of Faith—The Curse on Meroz—The Gospel and the Poor—Christ and Human Law.

Sermons Preached before the University of Oxford. (First Series, 1859-1868.) By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's, and Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford. Sixth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

CONTENTS.

God and the Soul—The Law of Progress—The Honour of Humanity—The Freedom of the Spirit—Immortality—Humility and Action—The Conflict of Faith with undue Exaltation of Intellect—Lessons of the Holy Manger—The Divine Victim—The Risen Life—Our Lord's Ascension, the Church's Gain—Faith in a Holy Ghost—The Divine Indwelling a motive to Holiness.

Some Elements of Religion. Lent Lectures. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's, and Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 5s.

CONTENTS.

The Idea of Religion—God, the Object of Religion—The Subject of Religion, the Soul—The Obstacle to Religion, Sin—Prayer, the Characteristic action of Religion—The Mediator, the Guarantee of Religious Life.

The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour

Jesus Christ. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1866. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON, D.D., D.C.L., Canon of St. Paul's, and Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford. Eighth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s.*

Church Doctrine and Spiritual Life.

Sermons preached in the Chapel of Lincoln's Inn. By F. C. COOK, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, Canon of Exeter, Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

The Law given by Moses—Grace and Truth in Jesus Christ—Baptismal Fire—Baptism in One Body—Hidden Life—The Manifested Life—Sabbatic Rest—The Dignity of Prayer—The Efficacy of Prayer—Unity of the Church—Christ Draweth all Men—Spiritual Resurrection—The Past Required—The Intermediate State—Ministering Spirits—The Holy Spirit as Reprover—The Holy Trinity—Testimony of the Church in the Athanasian Creed—First Meeting of St. Peter and St. Paul at Jerusalem—Clement of Rome, Witness to the Faith of the Early Church—Justin Martyr, Witness to the Power of Life in the Early Church—Justin Martyr, Witness to the Gospels and to Eucharistic Worship—Justin Martyr, Witness to Eucharistic Doctrine—St. Athanasius, Witness to the Permanency of Eucharistic Doctrine—Hilary of Poictiers, Witness to the Unity of Doctrine and of Spiritual Life in the Early Church.

Pleadings for Christ. Being Sermons,

Doctrinal and Practical, preached in St. Andrew's Church, Liverpool. By WILLIAM LEFROY, M.A., Incumbent. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Warnings of the Holy Week, &c. Being

a Course of Parochial Lectures for the Week before Easter and the Easter Festivals. By the Rev. W. ADAMS, M.A., Author of "Sacred Allegories," &c. Seventh Edition. Small 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

The Warning given at Bethany—The Warning of the Day of Excitement—The Warning of the Day of Chastisement—The Warning of the Fig Tree—The Warning of Judas—The Warning of Pilate—The Warning of the Day of Rest—The Signs of Our Lord's Presence—The Remedy for Anxious Thoughts—Comfort under Despondency.

Sermons on the Epistles and Gospels

for the Sundays and Holy Days throughout the Year. By the Rev. ISAAC WILLIAMS, B.D., Author of a "Devotional Commentary on the Gospel Narrative." New Edition. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5*s*. each. Sold separately.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

The King of Salem—The Scriptures bearing Witness—The Church bearing Witness—The Spirit bearing Witness—The Adoption of Sons—Love strong as Death—The Love which passeth Knowledge—Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven—The Spirit of Adoption—The Old and the New Man—The Day Star in the Heart—Obedience the best Sacrifice—The Meekness and Gentleness of Christ—The Faith that overcometh the World—Our Refuge in Public Troubles—Light and Safety in Love—The Great Manifestation—Perseverance found in Humility—Bringing forth Fruit with Patience—The most excellent Gift—The Call to Repentance—The accepted Time—Perseverance in Prayer—The Unclean Spirit returning—The Penitent refreshed—Our Life in the Knowledge of God—The Mind of Christ—The Triumph of the Cross—The Man of Sorrows—The Great Sacrifice—The Memorial of the Great Sacrifice—The Fulfilment—Buried with Christ—The Power of Christ risen—Walking in Newness of Life—Belief in the Resurrection of Christ—The Faith that overcometh the World—Following the Lamb of God—A little while—The Giver of all Good—Requisites of effectual Prayer—Ascending with Christ—The Days of Expectation—They shall walk with Me in White—The Holy Spirit and Baptism—Let all Things be done in order.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

The Door opened in Heaven—Love the mark of God's Children—The Gospel a Feast of Love—The Lost Sheep—Mercy the best preparation for Judgment—The peaceable ordering of the World—Brotherly Love and the Life in Christ—The Bread which God giveth—By their Fruits ye shall know them—Looking forward, or Divine Covetousness—The Day of Visitation—The Prayer of the Penitent—Weakness of Faith—Love the fulfilling of the Law—Thankfulness the Life of the Regenerate—My Beloved is Mine and I am His—The Knowledge which is Life Eternal—The Sabbath of Christ found in Meekness—Christ is on the Right Hand of God—The Forgiveness of Sins—Love and Joy in the Spirit—The Warfare and the Armour of Saints—The Love of Christians—The Earthly and Heavenly Citizenship—Mutual Intercessions—Gleanings after Harvest—Bringing unto Christ—Slowness in believing—Grace not given in Vain—The Refiner's Fire—The Lost Crown—Faith in the Incarnation—Value of an Inspired Gospel—The severe and social Virtues—Go and do thou likewise—Joy at hearing the Bridegroom's Voice—The Strength of God in Man's Weakness—Hidden with Christ in God—Do good, hoping for nothing again—The good exchange—War in Heaven—Healing and Peace—The Sacrament of Union—They which shall be accounted Worthy.

Selection, adapted to the Seasons of the Ecclesiastical Year, from the "Parochial and Plain Sermons" of JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. W. J. COPELAND, B.D., Rector of Farnham, Essex. Crown 8vo. 5s.

CONTENTS.

Advent:—Self-denial the Test of Religious Earnestness—Divine Calls—The Ventures of Faith—Watching. *Christmas Day*:—Religious Joy. *New Year's Sunday*:—The Lapse of Time. *Epiphany*:—Remembrance of Past Mercies—Equanimity—The Immortality of the Soul—Christian Manhood—Sincerity and Hypocrisy—Christian Sympathy. *Septuagesima*:—Present Blessings. *Sexagesima*:—Endurance the Christian's Portion. *Quinquagesima*:—Love the One Thing Needful. *Lent*:—The Individuality of the Soul—Life the Season of Repentance—Bodily Suffering—Tears of Christ at the Grave of Lazarus—Christ's Privations a Meditation for Christians—The Cross of Christ the Measure of the World. *Good Friday*:—The Crucifixion. *Easter Day*:—Keeping Fast and Festival. *Easter-Tide*:—Witnesses of the Resurrection—A Particular Providence as Revealed in the Gospel—Christ Manifested in Remembrance—The Invisible World—Waiting for Christ. *Ascension*:—Warfare the Condition of Victory. *Sunday after Ascension*:—Rising with Christ. *Whitsunday*:—The Weapons of Saints. *Trinity Sunday*:—The Mysteriousness of our Present Being. *Sundays after Trinity*:—Holiness Necessary for Future Blessedness—The Religious Use of Excited Feelings—The Self-wise Inquirer—Scripture a Record of Human Sorrow—The Danger of Riches—Obedience without Love, as instanced in the Character of Balaam—Moral Consequences of Single Sins—The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life—Moral Effects of Communion with God—The Thought of God the Stay of the Soul—The Power of the Will—The Gospel Palaces—Religion a Weariness to the Natural Man—The World our Enemy—The Praise of Man—Religion Pleasant to the Religious—Mental Prayer—Curiosity a Temptation to Sin—Miracles no Remedy for Unbelief—Jeremiah: a Lesson for the Disappointed—The Shepherd of our Souls—Doing Glory of God in Pursuits of the World.

"*The selection has been made with great judgment, and the volume, which is daintily printed, has thus a very special value.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*The publishers of the present volume have gathered together in a cheap and convenient form a series of Dr. Newman's earliest sermons, preached before he entered the Latin Church. These sermons are, of course, masterly, and, as they are not doctrinal, can be read with profit and pleasure by those who belong to the past as well as to the present creed of the learned doctor. The selection consists, with few exceptions, of sermons for the most important Church Festivals of the Year, and will be found admirably adapted for reading in the various seasons as they pass. To praise the noble language of Dr. Newman, an acknowledged master of English, would be superfluous; and these sermons, composed in the vigour of his years, are marked with the rarest grandeur and breadth of thought, and can be read with profit and pleasure by all, the religious for their profound piety, and by the student of English for their purity of diction.*"—MORNING POST.

"*Those who, like ourselves, have long used and valued the eight volumes of Dr. Newman's Parochial Sermons, will be first to rejoice that a 'Selection' of about fifty sermons has been made, and issued in a handsome volume.*"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"*Most of the subjects treated of are practical, and it is not necessary to say how they are treated by such a master as John Henry Newman. It is but fair to add that the selection seems to keep steadily clear of matter suggestive of polemics.*"—FREEMAN'S JOURNAL.

Parochial and Plain Sermons. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., formerly Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. W. J. COPELAND, B.D., Rector of Farnham, Essex. New Edition. 8 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5s. each. Sold separately.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

Holiness necessary for Future Blessedness—The Immortality of the Soul—Knowledge of God's Will without Obedience—Secret Truths—Self-denial the Test of Religious Earnestness—The Spiritual Mind—Sins of Ignorance and Weakness—God's Commandments not grievous—The Religious use of exalted Feelings—Profession without Practice—Profession without Hypocrisy—Profession without Ostentation—Promising without Doing—Religious Emotion—Religious Faith Rational—The Christian Mysteries—The Self-wise Inquirer—Obedience the Remedy for Religious Perplexity—Times of Private Prayer—Forms of Private Prayer—The Resurrection of the Body—Witnesses of the Resurrection—Christian Reverence—The Religion of the Day—Scripture a Record of Human Sorrow—Christian Manhood.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

The World's Benefactors—Faith without Sight—The Incarnation—Martyrdom—Love of Relations and Friends—The Mind of Little Children—Ceremonies of the Church—The Glory of the Christian Church—His Conversion viewed in Reference to His Office—Secrecy and Suddenness of Divine Visitations—Divine Decrees—The Reverence due to Her—Christ, a Quickening Spirit—Saving Knowledge—Self-contemplation—Religious Cowardice—The Gospel Witnesses—Mysteries in Religion—The Indwelling Spirit—The Kingdom of the Saints—The Gospel, a Trust committed to us—Tolerance of Religious Error—Rebuking Sin—The Christian Ministry—Human Responsibility—Guilelessness—The Danger of Riches—The Powers of Nature—The Danger of Accomplishments—Christian Zeal—Use of Saints' Days.

CONTENTS OF VOL. III.

Abraham and Lot—Wilfulness of Israel in rejecting Samuel—Saul—Early years of David—Jeroboam—Faith and Obedience—Christian Repentance—Contracted Views in Religion—A particular Providence as revealed in the Gospel—Tears of Christ at the Grave of Lazarus—Bodily Suffering—The Humiliation of the Eternal Son—Jewish Zeal a Pattern to Christians—Submission to Church Authority—Contest between Truth and Falsehood in the Church—The Church Visible and Invisible—The Visible Church an Encouragement to Faith—The Gift of the Spirit—Regenerating Baptism—Infant Baptism—The Daily Service—The Good Part of Mary—Religious Worship a Remedy for Excitements—Intercession—The Intermediate State.

CONTENTS OF VOL. IV.

The Strictness of the Law of Christ—Obedience without Love, as instanced in the Character of Balaam—Moral Consequences of Single Sins—Acceptance of Religious Privileges compulsory—Reliance on Religious Observances—The Individuality of the Soul—Chastisement amid Mercy—Peace and Joy amid Chastisement—The State of Grace—The Visible Church for the sake of the Elect—The Communion of Saints—The Church a

NEWMAN'S PAROCHIAL AND PLAIN SERMONS—*Continued.*

Home for the Lonely—The Invisible World—The Greatness and Littleness of Human Life—Moral Effects of Communion with God—Christ Hidden from the World—Christ Manifested in Remembrance—The Gainsaying of Korah—The Mysteriousness of our Present Being—The Ventures of Faith—Faith and Love—Watching—Keeping Fast and Festival.

CONTENTS OF VOL. V.

Worship, a Preparation for Christ's Coming—Reverence, a Belief in God's Presence—Unreal Words—Shrinking from Christ's Coming—Equanimity—Remembrance of past Mercies—The Mystery of Godliness—The State of Innocence—Christian Sympathy—Righteousness not of us, but in us—The Law of the Spirit—The New Works of the Gospel—The State of Salvation—Transgressions and Infirmities—Sins of Infirmity—Sincerity and Hypocrisy—The Testimony of Conscience—Many called, few chosen—Present Blessings—Endurance, the Christian's portion—Affliction a School of Comfort—The thought of God, the stay of the Soul—Love the one thing needful—The Power of the Will.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VI.

Fasting, a Source of Trial—Life, the Season of Repentance—Apostolic Abstinence, a Pattern for Christians—Christ's Privations, a Meditation for Christians—Christ the Son of God made Man—The Incarnate Son, a Sufferer and Sacrifice—The Cross of Christ the Measure of the World—Difficulty of realizing Sacred Privileges—The Gospel Sign addressed to Faith—The Spiritual Presence of Christ in the Church—The Eucharistic Presence—Faith the Title for Justification—Judaism of the present day—The Fellowship of the Apostles—Rising with Christ—Warfare the Condition of Victory—Waiting for Christ—Subjection of the Reason and Feelings to the Revealed Word—The Gospel Palaces—The Visible Temple—Offerings for the Sanctuary—The Weapons of Saints—Faith without Demonstration—The Mystery of the Holy Trinity—Peace in Believing.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

The Lapse of Time—Religion, a Weariness to the Natural Man—The World our Enemy—The Praise of Men—Temporal Advantages—The Season of Epiphany—The Duty of Self-denial—The Yoke of Christ—Moses the Type of Christ—The Crucifixion—Attendance on Holy Communion—The Gospel Feast—Love of Religion, a new Nature—Religion pleasant to the Religious—Mental Prayer—Infant Baptism—The Unity of the Church—Steadfastness in the Old Paths.

CONTENTS OF VOL. VIII.

Reverence in Worship—Divine Calls—The Trial of Saul—The Call of David—Curiosity a Temptation to Sin—Miracles no remedy for Unbelief—Josiah, a Pattern for the Ignorant—Inward Witness to the Truth of the Gospel—Jeremiah, a Lesson for the Disappointed—Endurance of the World's Censure—Doing Glory to God in Pursuits of the World—Vanity of Human Glory—Truth hidden when not sought after—Obedience to God the Way to Faith in Christ—Sudden Conversions—The Shepherd of our Souls—Religious Joy—Ignorance of Evil.

Lectures on the Doctrine of Justification.

By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

Faith considered as the Instrument of Justification—Love considered as the Formal Cause of Justification—Primary Sense of the term Justification—Secondary Senses of the term Justification—Misuse of the term Just or Righteous—On the Gift of Righteousness—The Characteristics of the Gift of Righteousness—Righteousness viewed as a Gift and as a Quality—Righteousness the Fruit of our Lord's Resurrection—The Office of Justifying Faith—The Nature of Justifying Faith—Faith viewed relatively to Rites and Works—On preaching the Gospel—Appendix.

Sermons Bearing upon Subjects of the Day.

By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Edited by the Rev. W. J. COPELAND, B.D., Rector of Farnham, Essex. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

The Work of the Christian—Saintliness not forfeited by the Penitent—Our Lord's Last Supper and His First—Dangers to the Penitent—The Three Offices of Christ—Faith and Experience—Faith and the World—The Church and the World—Indulgence in Religious Privileges—Connection between Personal and Public Improvement—Christian Nobleness—Joshua, a Type of Christ and His Followers—Elisha, a Type of Christ and His Followers—The Christian Church a continuation of the Jewish—The Principle of continuity between the Jewish and Christian Churches—The Christian Church an Imperial Power—Sanctity the Token of the Christian Empire—Condition of the Members of the Christian Empire—The Apostolical Christian—Wisdom and Innocence—Invisible Presence of Christ—Outward and Inward Notes of the Church—Grounds for Steadfastness in our Religious Profession—Elijah the Prophet of the Latter Days—Feasting in Captivity—The Parting of Friends.

Fifteen Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, between A.D. 1826 and 1843.

By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, B.D., sometime Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

The Philosophical Temper first enjoined by the Gospel—The Influence of Natura and Revealed Religion respectively—Evangelical Sanctity the Perfection of Natural Virtue—The Usurpations of Reason—Personal Influence, the means of Propagating the Truth—Our Justice, as a Principle of Divine Governance—Contest between Faith and Light—Human Responsibility, as Independent of Circumstances—Wilfulness the Sin of Saul—Faith and Reason, contrasted as Habits of Mind—The Nature of Faith in Relation to Reason—Love the Safeguard of Faith against Superstition—Implicit and Explicit Reason—Wisdom, as contrasted with Faith and with Bigotry—The Theory of Developments in Religious Doctrine.

The Catholic Sacrifice. Sermons Preached

at All Saints, Margaret Street. By the Rev. BERDMORE COMPTON, M.A., Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

The Eucharistic Life—The Sacrifice of Sweet Savour—The Pure Offering—The Catholic Oblation—The Sacrificial Feast—The Preparation for the Eucharist—The Introductory Office—The Canon—Degrees of Apprehension—The Fascination of Christ Crucified—The Shewbread—Consecration of Worship and Work—Water, Blood, Wine—The Blood of Sprinkling—The Mystery of Sacraments—The Oblation of Gethsemane—Offertory and Tribute Money.

The Sayings of the Great Forty Days,

between the Resurrection and Ascension, regarded as the Outlines of the Kingdom of God. In Five Discourses. With an Examination of Dr. Newman's Theory of Development. By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Bishop of Salisbury. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

Plain Sermons, preached at Brighstone.

By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Bishop of Salisbury. Third Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

Except a Man be Born again—The Lord with the Doctors—The Draw-Net—will lay me down in Peace—Ye have not so learned Christ—Trinity Sunday—My Flesh is Meat indeed—The Corn of Wheat dying and multiplied—The Seed Corn springing to new Life—I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life—The Ruler of the Sea—Stewards of the Mysteries of God—Ephphatha—The Widow of Nain—Josiah's Discovery of the Law—The Invisible World: Angels—Prayers, especially Daily Prayers—They all with one consent began to make excuse—Ascension Day—The Comforter—The Tokens of the Spirit—Elijah's Warning, Fathers and Children—Thou shalt see them no more for ever—Baskets full of Fragments—Harvest—The Marriage Supper of the Lamb—The Last Judgment.

Sermons preached at Winchester College.

By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Bishop of Salisbury. 2 Vols. Small 8vo. 6*s*. 6*d*. each. Sold separately.

Sermons, Parochial and Occasional.

By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.

The Right Eye and the Right Hand—Temptation treated as Opportunity—The Influences of Habit on Devotion—Thought for the Morrow—The Relief of Utterance—Seeking a Sign—David Numbering the People—The Heroism of Faith—Proverbs—The Teaching of Events—Growing Worse—Our Lord the Sacrifice for Sin—The Parable of the Sower—The Religious Enjoyment of Nature—The Threefold Office of the Holy Spirit—Wisdom and Folly Tested by Experience—Moses, a Leader—The Unjust Steward—Sowing to the Spirit—True Religion a Manifestation—St. Paul's Exaltation of Labour—Jeremiah's Witness against Idolatry—Isaiah's Estimate of Worldly Greatness—The Shortness of Life—The Endless State of Being—The Witness of the Apostles—Life a Probation—Christian Mysteries the Common Heritage—Our Lord's Hour—Fear—The Educating Power of Strong Impressions—The Secret Justice of Temporal Providence—Jacob as a Prince Prevailing with God.

"His sermons are the solemn and piercing reflections of a man who intently scrutinizes the world and God's dealings with it for the spiritual benefit of himself and others. The poetry of his sermons is unsought for, and results, where it exists, from a desire to give adequate expression to an intense appreciation of what is in itself elevated and astonishing; and if he is thus lifted into simile or metaphor, it is because he is at a loss to convey in any other way the height or depth or breadth of what he sees."—GUARDIAN.

"All who have read the 'University Sermons,' or the volume entitled the 'Ruling Ideas as in the Early Ages,' of the late Dr. Mozley, are aware with what unusual profundity and originality of thought they are marked; and by all such this further instalment of Dr. Mozley's sermons will be welcomed. They will be of great use to the clergy in the preparation of their own discourses; they will be of still greater use to them if read and studied privately by way of mental discipline."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"We may say at once, and after reading nearly every page of it, that there is not one sermon here devoid of interest, and there is not one which does not bear the same stamp which was impressed upon the great University Series. . . . . No man can read these sermons without feeling his conscience stirred and cleared, and if he has any good in him, without feeling his will braced for fresh efforts."—CHURCH BELLS.

Seven Addresses delivered at S.

Paul's Cathedral at the Mid-Day Service, Good Friday, 1879. By V. S. S. COLES, M.A., Rector of Shepton Beauchamp. Small 8vo. 1s.

CONTENTS.

Forgiveness of Sin, the First Great Need—True Prayer, the Means of Forgiveness—Privilege of Forgiven Souls—Suffering of the Human Soul—Suffering of the Human Body—Perseverance in Effort—Trust in God.

Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, and on various occasions. By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity, Oxford. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

The Roman Council—The Pharisees—Eternal Life—The Reversal of Human Judgment—War—Nature—The Work of the Spirit on the Natural Man—The Atonement—Our Duty to Equals—The Peaceful Temper—The Strength of Wishes—The unspoken Judgment of Mankind—The true test of Spiritual Birth—Ascension Day—Gratitude—The Principle of Emulation—Religion the First Choice—The Influence of Dogmatic Teaching on Education.

"There are sermons in it which, for penetrating insight into the mysteries and anomalies of human character, its power of holding together strange opposites, its capacity for combination, for disguise, and unconscious transformation, are as wonderful, it may almost be said as terrible, in their revelations and suggestions as are to be found anywhere. There are four sermons, one on the 'Pharisees,' one on 'Eternal Life,' one on the 'Reversal of Human Judgment,' the fourth on the 'Unspoken Judgment of Mankind,' which must almost make an epoch in the thought and history of any one who reads them and really takes in what they say. There is in them a kind of Shakspearian mixture of subtlety of remark with boldness and directness of phrase, and with a grave, pathetic irony, which is not often characteristic of such compositions."—TIMES.

"These are unusually remarkable sermons. They are addressed to educated, reflective, and, in some cases, philosophical readers, and they exhibit, by turns or in combination, high philosophical power, a piercing appreciation of human motives, vivid conceptions, and a great power of clothing those conceptions in the language of trenchant aphorism, or lofty, earnest poetry."—GUARDIAN.

"A new gleam of religious genius. . . . Keen simplicity and reality in the way of putting things is characteristic of these sermons of Dr. Mozley's, but not less characteristic of them—and this is what shows that the Christian faith has in him appealed to a certain original faculty of the kind which we call 'genius'—is the instinctive sympathy which he seems to have with the subtler shades of Christ's teaching, so as to make it suddenly seem new to us, as well as more wonderful than ever."—SPECTATOR.

"The volume possesses intrinsic merits so remarkable as to be almost unique. . . . There is scarcely a sermon in it which does not possess eloquence, in a very true sense, of a high order. But it is the eloquence not so much of language as of thought. It is the eloquence of concentration, of vigorous grasp, of delicate irony, of deep but subdued pathos, of subtle delicacy of touch, of broad strong sense; it impresses the mind rather than strikes the ear. We cannot help feeling, as we read, not only that the preacher means what he says, but that he has taken pains to think out his meaning, and has applied to the process the whole energy and resources of no common intellect."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

Sermons. By HENRY MELVILL, B.D., late

Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Edition. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5*s*. each. Sold separately.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

The First Prophecy—Christ the Minister of the Church—The Impossibility of Creature-Merit—The Humiliation of the Man Christ Jesus—The Doctrine of the Resurrection viewed in connection with that of the Soul's Immortality—The Power of Wickedness and Righteousness to reproduce themselves—The Power of Religion to strengthen the Human Intellect—The Provision made by God for the Poor—St. Paul, a Tent-Maker—The Advantages of a state of Expectation—Truth as it is in Jesus—The Difficulties of Scripture.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

Jacob's Vision and Vow—The continued Agency of the Father and the Son—The Resurrection of Dry Bones—Protestantism and Popery—Christianity a Sword—The Death of Moses—The Ascension of Christ—The Spirit upon the Waters—The Proportion of Grace to Trial—Pleading before the Mountains—Heaven—God's Way in the Sanctuary.

"Every one who can remember the days when Canon Melvill was the preacher of the day, will be glad to see these four-and-twenty of his sermons so nicely reproduced. His Sermons were all the result of real study and genuine reading, with far more theology in them than those of many who make much more profession of theology. There are sermons here which we can personally remember; it has been a pleasure to us to be reminded of them, and we are glad to see them brought before the present generation. We hope that they may be studied, for they deserve it thoroughly."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"The Sermons of Canon Melvill, now republished in two handy volumes, need only to be mentioned to be sure of a hearty welcome. Sound learning, well-weighed words, calm and keen logic, and solemn devoutness, mark the whole series of masterly discourses, which embrace some of the chief doctrines of the Church, and set them forth in clear and Scriptural strength."—STANDARD.

"The Sermons abound in thought, and the thoughts are couched in English which is at once elegant in construction and easy to read."—CHURCH TIMES.

"Henry Melvill's intellect was large, his imagination brilliant, his ardour intense, and his style strong, fervid, and picturesque. Often he seemed to glow with the inspiration of a prophet."—AMERICAN QUARTERLY CHURCH REVIEW.

Lectures delivered at St. Margaret's,

Lothbury. By HENRY MELVILL, B.D., late Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 5*s*.

CONTENTS.

The Return of the Dispossessed Spirit—Honey from the Rock—Easter—The Witness in Oneself—The Apocrypha—A Man a Hiding-place—The

MELVILL'S LOTHBURY LECTURES—*Continued.*

Hundredfold Recompense—The Life more than Meat—Isaiah's Vision—St. John the Baptist—Building the Tombs of the Prophets—Manifestation of the Sons of God—St. Paul's Determination—The Song of Moses and the Lamb—The Divine Longsuffering—Sowing the Seed—The Great Multitude—The Kinsman Redeemer—St. Barnabas—Spiritual Decline.

Sermons on Certain of the Less

Prominent Facts and References in Sacred Story. By HENRY MELVILL, B.D., late Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Edition. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5*s.* each. Sold separately.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

The Faith of Joseph on his Death-bed—Angels as Remembrancers—The Burning of the Magical Books—The Parting Hymn—Cæsar's Household—The Sleepless Night—The Well of Bethlehem—The Thirst of Christ—The second Delivery of the Lord's Prayer—Peculiarities in the Miracle in the Coasts of Decapolis—The Latter Rain—The Lowly Errand—Nehemiah before Artaxerxes—Jabez.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

The Young Man in the Linen Cloth—The Fire on the Shore—The Finding the Guest-Chamber—The Spectre's Sermon a truism—Various Opinions—The Misrepresentations of Eve—Seeking, after Finding—The Bird's Nest—Angels our Guardians in trifles—The appearance of failure—Simon the Cyrenian—The power of the Eye—Pilate's Wife—Examination of Cain.

"*We are glad to see this new edition of what we have always considered to be Melvill's best sermons, because in them we have his best thoughts. . . . Many of these sermons are the strongest arguments yet adduced for internal evidence of the veracity of the Scriptural narratives.*"—STANDARD.

"*Unusually interesting. . . . . No one can read these sermons without deriving instruction from them, without being compelled to acknowledge that new light has been cast for him on numerous passages of Scripture, which he must henceforth read with greater intelligence and greater interest than before.*"—EDINBURGH COURANT.

"*For skill in developing the significance of the less prominent facts of Holy Scripture' no one could compete with the late Canon Melvill, four volumes of whose discourses—two of them occupied entirely with his sermons on subjects of this class—are before us. His preaching was unique. He selected for the most part texts that are not frequently treated, and when he chose those of a more ordinary character, he generally presented them in a new light, and elicited from them some truth which would not have suggested itself to any other preacher. He was singularly ingenious in some of his conceptions, and wonderfully forcible and impressive in his mode of developing and applying them.*"—NONCONFORMIST.

"*The publishers of these well-known, almost classic sermons, have conferred a boon on all lovers of our pulpit literature by this beautiful, portable edition of some of the most brilliant and original discourses that have been delivered to this generation.*"—BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

Selection from the Sermons preached

during the Latter Years of his Life, in the Parish Church of Barnes, and in the Cathedral of St. Paul's. By HENRY MELVILL, B.D., late Canon of St. Paul's, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. New Edition. 2 Vols. Crown 8vo. 5*s.* each. Sold separately.

CONTENTS OF VOL. I.

The Parity of the consequences of Adam's Transgression and Christ's Death—The Song of Simeon—The Days of Old—Omissions of Scripture—The Madman in Sport—Peace, Peace, when there is no Peace—A very lovely Song—This is that King Ahaz—Ariel—New Wine and Old Bottles—Demas—Michael and the Devil—The Folly of Excessive Labour—St. Paul at Philippi—Believing a Lie—The Prodigal Son—The Foolishness of Preaching—Knowledge and Sorrow—The Unjust Steward—The Man born blind.

CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

Rejoicing as in Spoil — Satan a Copyist — The binding the Tares into Bundles — Two walking together—Agreeing with the Adversary—God speaking to Moses—Hoping in Mercy—Faith as a Grain of Mustard Seed—Mary's Recompense—War in Heaven—Glory into Shame—The Last Judgment—Man like to Vanity—God so Loved the World—Saul—And what shall this Man do?—The Sickness and Death of Elisha—Abiding in our Callings—Trinity Sunday.

"*The main characteristics of Canon Melvill's sermons are these—they are not polemical; the* odium theologicum *is nowhere to be found in them, and nowhere is the spirit of true Christian charity and love absent from them. This will widen their usefulness, for they will on this account make a ready way amongst all sects and creeds of professing Christians. Again, these sermons are eminently practical and devotional in their tone and aim. The truths here proclaimed pierce the heart to its very core, so true is the preacher's aim, so vigorous is the force with which he shoots the convictions of his own heart into the hearts of his hearers.*"—STANDARD.

"*There are in the sermons before us all Melvill's wonted grace of diction, strength of reasoning, and aptness of illustration.*"—WEEKLY REVIEW.

"*Two other volumes of the late Canon Melvill's sermons contain forty discourses preached by him in his later years, and they are prefaced by a short memoir of one of the worthiest and most impressive preachers of recent times.*"—EXAMINER.

"*Many years have now elapsed since we first heard Henry Melvill. But we can still recall the text, the sermon, the deep impression made upon us by the impassioned eloquence of the great preacher. It was our first, and very profitable experience of what influence there resides in the faithful preaching of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. For while it was impossible to be indifferent to the messenger, yet the message was brought home by him to the heart and to the conscience. It is pleasant in these, the latest sermons delivered by Mr. Melvill, to find the same faithful utterance.*"—CHRISTIAN OBSERVER.

The Life of Justification. A Series of

Lectures delivered in Substance at All Saints', Margaret Street. By the Rev. GEORGE BODY, B.A., Rector of Kirkby Misperton. Fifth Edition. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

Justification the Want of Humility—Christ our Justification—Union with Christ the Condition of Justification—Conversion and Justification—The Life of Justification—The Progress and End of Justification.

"*On the whole we have rarely met with a more clear, intelligible and persuasive statement of the truth as regards the important topics on which the volume treats. Sermon II. in particular, will strike every one by its eloquence and beauty, but we scarcely like to specify it, lest in praising it we should seem to disparage the other portions of this admirable little work.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*These discourses show that their author's position is due to something more and higher than mere fluency, gesticulation, and flexibility of voice. He appears as having drunk deeply at the fountain of St. Augustine, and as understanding how to translate the burning words of that mighty genius into the current language of to-day.*"—UNION REVIEW.

"*There is real power in these sermons:—power, real power, and plenty of it. . . . There is such a moral veraciousness about him, such a profound and over-mastering belief that Christ has proved a bonâ-fide cure for unholiness, and such an intensity of eagerness to lead others to seek and profit by that means of attaining the true sanctity which alone can enter Heaven—that we wonder not at the crowds which hang upon his preaching, nor at the success of his fervid appeals to the human conscience. If any one doubts our verdict, let him buy this volume. No one will regret its perusal.*"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

The Life of Temptation. A Course of

Lectures delivered in Substance at St. Peter's, Eaton Square: also at All Saints', Margaret Street. By the Rev. GEORGE BODY, B.A., Rector of Kirkby Misperton. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 4*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

The Leading into Temptation—The Rationale of Temptation—Why we are Tempted—Safety in Temptation—With Jesus in Temptation—The End of Temptation.

"*Regeneration and conversion seem here to occupy their proper places in the Christian economy, and the general subject of temptation is worked out with considerable ability.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*This is another volume of simple, earnest, soul-stirring words, dealing with the mysteries of Christian experience.*"—LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"*A collection of sermons, pious, earnest, and eloquent.*"—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

Sermons on Special Occasions. By

DANIEL MOORE, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Paddington. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.

The Words of Christ imperishable—The Gospel Welcome—The Conversion of St. Paul—The Christian's Mission—Business and Godliness—Soberness and Watchfulness—The Joy of the Disciples at the Resurrection—The Saviour's Ascension—Jesus in the Midst—The Moral Attractions of the Cross—The Gospel Workmen—The Work of the Holy Spirit—The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity—The Law of Moral Recompenses—The Goodness of King Joash—The Tenderness of Christ—Christ our Example in Youth—Jacob in Life and in Death—The Spiritual Mind—Britain's Obligations to the Gospel—The Throne in Mourning—Prayer and Providence—The Unsearchableness of God.

The Age and the Gospel; Four Sermons

preached before the University of Cambridge, at the Hulsean Lecture, 1864. With a Discourse on Final Retribution. By DANIEL MOORE, M.A., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Vicar of Holy Trinity, Paddington. Crown 8vo. *5s.*

The Mystery of the Temptation: a Course of Lectures.

By the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Sub-Warden of the House of Mercy, Clewer. Crown 8vo. *4s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.

The Entrance into the Temptation—The Fast—The Personality of Satan—The First Temptation—The Second Temptation—The Third Temptation—The End of the Temptation.

"We can mention with unmixed praise a series of lectures on 'The Mystery of the Temptation,' by Mr. Hutchings of Clewer. They are deeply thoughtful, full, and well written, in a style which, from its calmness and dignity, befits the subject."—GUARDIAN.

"This book is one of the refreshing proofs still occasionally met with that the traditional culture and refinement of the Anglican clergy is not quite exhausted, nor its exhaustion implied, by the endless and vulgar controversies that fill the columns of religious newspapers. The sober earnestness that has always been a characteristically Anglican virtue has not failed in a preacher like Mr. Hutchings."—ACADEMY.

"Students of Scripture will find in 'The Mystery of the Temptation' sound reasoning, the evidences of close study, and the spirit of reverence and fervent faith."—MORNING POST.

"This is a volume of lectures which will repay serious study. They are earnest to the last degree."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"Very good indeed."—NEW YORK CHURCH JOURNAL.

The Religion of the Christ: its Historic and Literary Development considered as an Evidence of its Origin. Being the Bampton Lectures for 1874. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Regent Street, and Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

The Witness of the Old Testament to Christ. Being the Boyle Lectures for the year 1868. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Regent Street, and Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London. 8vo. 9*s.*

The Witness of St. Paul to Christ. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1869. With an Appendix on the Credibility of the Acts, in Reply to the Recent Strictures of Dr. Davidson. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Regent Street, and Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

The Witness of St. John to Christ. Being the Boyle Lectures for 1870. With an Appendix on the Authorship and Integrity of St. John's Gospel, and the Unity of the Johannine Writings. By the Rev. STANLEY LEATHES, M.A., Minister of St. Philip's, Regent Street, and Professor of Hebrew, King's College, London. 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Short Sermons on the Psalms in their Order. Preached in a Village Church. By W. J. STRACEY, M.A., Rector of Oxnead, and Vicar of Buxton, Norfolk, formerly Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge. Crown 8vo.

Vol. I.—Psalms I—XXV. 5*s.*
Vol. II.—Psalms XXVI—LI. 5*s.*

Sermons Preached in the Temporary

Chapel of Keble College, Oxford, 1870—1876. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. *6s.*

CONTENTS.

The Service of God the Principle of Daily Life—The Costliness of Acceptable Offerings—The Hearing of Sermons—The Missionary Character of all Christian Lives—The Revelation of the Son as well in Nature as in the Incarnation—The New Chapel—The Secret of Spiritual Strength—The Preparation of Lent—The Spirit of the Daily Services: I. The Spiritual Sacrifice of the Universal Priesthood. II. Offering to God of His Own—The Life of Love—The Resurrection—Redeeming the Time—The Devotional Study of Holy Scripture—Conversion—Conversation—Enthusiasm—Growth in the Knowledge of God—The Imitation of Christ—Manliness—Truth—Saints' Days—Eternity—Life.

Farewell Counsels of a Pastor to his

Flock, on Topics of the Day. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Third Edition. Small 8vo. *4s.*

CONTENTS.

Absolution—Ritualism—The Doctrine of the Eucharist—The Atonement—The Stability of an Orthodox Faith—The Stability of Personal Religion—On Preaching Christ Crucified—The Responsibility of Hearers.

The Doctrine of the Cross: specially

in its relation to the Troubles of Life. Sermons preached during Lent in the Parish Church of New Windsor by HENRY J. ELLISON, M.A. (sometime Vicar of Windsor), Honorary Chaplain to the Queen, Honorary Canon of Christ Church, and Rector of Haseley, Oxon. Small 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

CONTENTS.

The Troubles of Life—The Doctrine of the Cross—The Christian Crucified with Christ—The Cross of Chastisement—The Cross of Trial—Voluntary Crosses—The Crown.

The Way of Holiness in Married Life.

A Course of Sermons preached in Lent. By the Rev. HENRY J. ELLISON, M.A., Hon. Canon of Christ Church, and Vicar of New Windsor, Berks. Second Edition. Small 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Sermons Preached in the Parish

Church of Barnes, 1871 to 1876. By PETER GOLDSMITH MEDD, M.A., Rector of North Cerney, Hon. Canon of St. Albans, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop; late Senior Fellow of University College, Oxford, and Rector of Barnes. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

Thankfulness for God's Mercies—Subjection to the Civil Power—Christ's Prophecy of the End—God's Purpose of Love in Creation—The Introduction of Evil into the Creation—Christian Love—Christianity a Religion of Self-Denial—The Nature of Sin—The Consequences of Sin (No. 1)—The Consequences of Sin (No. 2)—The Remedy of Sin (No. 1)—The Remedy of Sin (No. 2)—With Christ in Paradise—The Remedy of Sin (No. 3)—The Remedy of Sin (No. 4)—Christ the Resurrection and the Life—The Hope of the Resurrection—The Three Resurrections—The Hope of the Christian—The Publican's Prayer—The Conflict of Flesh and Spirit—Christian Unity—The Duty of Forgiveness—Present Salvation—The Marks of the Children of God—Against Religious Narrowness—The Necessity of Meditation on Religious Subjects—The Need of Effort in the Christian Life—Bodily Works of Mercy—The Athanasian Creed—Conscious Religion—The Comfort of the Christian Faith—Appendix.

"*The special merit of his volume is its thoughtfulness; and as Mr. Medd writes in a very condensed style, the thirty-two sermons which he has given us contain a great deal more of valuable matter than many books of much larger bulk. . . . We believe that many of our readers, among the clergy as well as the laity, will thank us for having drawn their attention to the excellences of the volume before us.*"—GUARDIAN.

"*They range over a wide circle of subjects, theological and practical; but are always full, vigorous, and energetic, yet with a sobriety of style and an elegance of treatment that must have charmed the hearer just as they win upon the reader. We do not often meet with a volume of discourses of such uniform excellence. Nothing hazardous is attempted; but in all that he attempts Mr. Medd entirely succeeds. The teaching is plain, direct, and effective; while the breadth of view and the liberality of sentiment are most refreshing in these days when the sermon is too often made a party manifesto. Professor Blackie would find in them both 'vigour' and 'grace.' And the reader will also find in them a considerable knowledge of the heart, an intelligent comprehension of the Christian system, much lucid exposition of Scriptural truth, and a forcible application of it to the human conscience.*"—SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.

The Permanence of Christianity. Con-

sidered in Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford, in the year 1872, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By JOHN RICHARD TURNER EATON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Rector of Lapworth, Warwickshire. 8vo. 12*s.*

The Christian Character; Six Sermons preached in Lent. By JOHN JACKSON, D.D., Bishop of London. Seventh Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Reconciliation of Reason and Faith. Being Sermons on Faith, Evil, Sin and Suffering, Immortality, God, Science, Prayer, and other Subjects. By REGINALD E. MOLYNEUX, M.A. Crown 8vo. 4*s.*

The Soul in its Probation: Sermons Preached at the Church of S. Alban the Martyr, Holborn, on the Sundays in Lent, 1873. By the Rev. F. N. OXENHAM, M.A. 8vo. 5*s.*

The Last Three Sermons preached at Oxford by PHILIP N. SHUTTLEWORTH, D.D., sometime Lord Bishop of Chichester. Justification through Faith—The Merciful Character of the Gospel Covenant—The Sufficiency of Scripture a Rule of Faith. To which is added a Letter addressed in 1841 to a Young Clergyman, now a Priest in the Church of Rome. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Not Tradition but Scripture. By the late PHILIP NICHOLAS SHUTTLEWORTH, D.D., Warden of New College, Oxford, and Rector of Foxley, Wilts, afterwards Bishop of Chichester. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

7. Religious Education.

A Key to Christian Doctrine and Practice, founded on the Church Catechism. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"Of cheap and reliable text-books of this nature there has hitherto been a great want. We are often asked to recommend books for use in Church Sunday-schools, and we therefore take this opportunity of saying that we know of none more likely to be of service both to teachers and scholars than these 'Keys.'" — CHURCHMAN'S SHILLING MAGAZINE.

"This is another of Mr. Blunt's most useful manuals, with all the precision of a school book, yet diverging into matters of practical application so freely as to make it most serviceable, either as a teacher's suggestion book, or as an intelligent pupil's reading book."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"Will be very useful for the higher classes in Sunday-schools, or rather for the fuller instruction of the Sunday-school teachers themselves, where the parish priest is wise enough to devote a certain time regularly to their preparation for their voluntary task."—UNION REVIEW.

Household Theology: a Handbook of Religious Information respecting the Holy Bible, the Prayer Book, the Church, the Ministry, Divine Worship, the Creeds, &c. &c. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. New Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

CONTENTS.

The Bible—The Prayer Book—The Church—Table of Dates—Ministerial Offices —Divine Worship—The Creeds—A Practical Summary of Christian Doctrine—The Great Christian Writers of Early Times—Ancient and Modern Heresies and Sects—The Church Calendar—A short explanation of Words used in Church History and Theology—Index.

Manuals of Religious Instruction.

Edited by JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of St. Mary, Redcliffe, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester.

3 Volumes. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.* each. Sold separately.

The Old Testament.
The New Testament.
The Prayer Book.

Or each Volume in Five Parts. 1*s.* each Part.

[These Manuals are intended to supply a five years' course of instruction for young people between the ages of thirteen and eighteen.

It will be seen that fifteen small graduated text-books are provided :—

Five on the Old Testament;
Five on the New Testament;
Five on the Catechism and Liturgy.

In preparing the last, the Editor has thought it best to spread the study of the Catechism over several years, rather than compress it into one.

This may give rise to what may appear some needless repetition. But the Lessons of our Catechism are of such paramount importance, that it seems desirable to keep it continually in our Pupils' hands, as the best key to the study of the Prayer Book.

There has been a grievous want of *definiteness* in our young people's knowledge of Church doctrine. Especially have the Diocesan Inspectors noticed it in our Pupil Teachers. It has arisen, doubtless, from their Teachers assuming that they had clear elementary ideas about religion, in which really they had never been grounded. It is therefore thought not too much to ask them to give one-third of their time to the study of the Prayer Book.

In the Old Testament and New Testament Manuals the greatest pains have been taken to give them such a character as shall render it impossible for them to supersede the Sacred Text. Two main objects the writers of the Old and New Testament Manuals have proposed to themselves; first, to stimulate interest; second, to supply a sort of running commentary on the inspired page. Especial pains have been taken to draw the reader's attention to the *spiritual* teaching of Holy Scripture, and to subordinate to this the merely historical interest.

The writer of the Old Testament Manual has made it his endeavour to help the reader to see our Lord Christ in Law, in Psalms, in Prophets.

The New Testament Manual is confined to the Gospels and Acts. It was found impossible to include any of the Epistles. But the Fourth Part of the Prayer Book Manual will in some measure supply this deficiency.

Although they were originally prepared with special regard to Pupil Teachers, they will be found adapted also for all students of a like age (from thirteen to eighteen) who have not access to many books.]

Rudiments of Theology. A First Book

for Students. By JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of St. Mary, Redcliffe, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester. Second Edition, revised. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"*It is altogether a remarkable book. We have seldom seen clear, incisive reasoning, orthodox teaching, and wide-mindedness in such happy combination.*"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"*A most useful book for theological students in the earlier part of their course. . . . The book is one for which the Church owes a debt of gratitude to Canon Norris, combining, as it does, orthodoxy and learning, and logical accuracy of definition with real charity. We heartily commend it.*"—JOHN BULL.

"*We can recommend this book to theological students as a useful and compendious manual. It is clear and well arranged. . . . We venture to believe that, on the whole, he is a very fair exponent of the teaching of the English Church, and that his book may be profitably used by those for whom it is chiefly intended—that is, candidates for ordination.*"—SPECTATOR.

"*This unpretending work supplies a real* desideratum. . . . *It seeks to lead us from the shifting sands of human systems to the solid ground of Divine revelation, wisely recognising as its most trustworthy interpreters those who came nearest to its times, and directing the student's mind to 'what the early Fathers thought and wrote in the days when the Church's theologians had to hold their own against an adverse world.'*"—GUARDIAN.

"*This work was prepared as a handbook for theological students. But it is to reach a far wider field. It is capable of doing a most important service among all classes. We have seldom, if ever, met a more satisfactory or a clearer presentation of the fundamental facts of theology than those given in these pages. . . . The author has the rare faculty—it amounts really to genius—of saying just the thing that ought to be said, and of presenting any truth in such a shape that the reader can easily take hold of it and make it his own. . . . We commend this work to Churchmen generally as one from which all can derive profit. To the Clergy it will serve as a model method of dogmatic teaching, and to the laity it will be a rich storehouse of information concerning the things to be believed. . . . The whole thing is so admirable in tone, arrangement, and style that it will, no doubt, become universally popular.*"—CHURCHMAN (NEW YORK).

The Young Churchman's Companion

to the Prayer Book. By the Rev. J. W. GEDGE, M.A., Winchester Diocesan Inspector of Schools for West Surrey and the Channel Islands. (Recommended by the late and present Lord Bishops of Winchester.)

Part I.—Morning and Evening Prayer and Litany.
Part II.—Baptismal and Confirmation Services.
Part III.—Holy Communion.

18mo., 1*s.* each Part; or in paper cover, 6*d.*

A Catechism on Gospel History, inculcating Church Doctrine.

By the Rev. SAMUEL KETTLEWELL, M.A., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Leeds. Third Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"This work has deservedly reached a third edition. Originally composed when its author was at Leeds, its usefulness was tested in the parish church schools there. It has since been enlarged and carefully revised, and will be found exceedingly well suited for the use of parents in giving religious instruction to their own children, as well as for teachers generally."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

"Sunday-school teachers and others engaged in the instruction of the young will find in its pages many useful suggestions."—ROCK.

A Help to Catechizing.

For the Use of Clergymen, Schools, and Private Families. By JAMES BEAVEN, D.D., formerly Professor of Divinity in the University of King's College, Toronto. New Edition. 18mo. 2*s.*

Catechetical Exercises on the Apostles' Creed;

chiefly from Bp. Pearson. By EDWARD BICKERSTETH, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. New Edition. 18mo. 2*s.*

Questions illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England,

with Proofs from Holy Scripture, and the Primitive Church. By EDWARD BICKERSTETH, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. Sixth Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Idle Word: Short Religious Essays upon the Gift of Speech.

By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Fourth Edition. Small 8vo. 3*s.*

CONTENTS.

The Connexion of Speech with Reason—The Connexion of Speech with Reason—The Heavenly Analogy of the Connexion of Speech with Reason—An Idle Word Defined from the Decalogue—An Idle Word defined from the Decalogue—What is an Idle Word?—Words of Business and innocent Recreation not Idle—Speech the Instrument of Prophecy and Sacrifice—Hints for the Guidance of Conversation—On Religious Conversation—Appendix.

A Manual of Confirmation, Comprising

—1. A General Account of the Ordinance. 2. The Baptismal Vow, and the English Order of Confirmation, with Short Notes, Critical and Devotional. 3. Meditations and Prayers on Passages of Holy Scripture, in connexion with the Ordinance. With a Pastoral Letter instructing Catechumens how to prepare themselves for their first Communion. By EDWARD MEYRICK GOULBURN, D.D., Dean of Norwich. Ninth Edition. Small 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Easy Lessons Addressed to Candidates

for Confirmation. By JOHN PILKINGTON NORRIS, B.D., Canon of Bristol, Vicar of St. Mary, Redcliffe, and Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Manchester. Small 8vo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

"*An admirable hand-book on confirmation. It is sound, scriptural, plain, and practical. It brings out only important points, and is not overloaded with unessential things. Besides, it has the rare merit of being adapted to persons of varying ages.*"—CHURCHMAN (NEW YORK).

"*Is so arranged as to convey the teaching of the Catechism to those who, from early disadvantages, are unable to commit it to memory. Earnest counsels are appended for the guidance of the confirmed in maturer years.*"—NATIONAL CHURCH.

"*The Canon aims in the first nine lessons to transfuse the substance of the Catechism into a form which such persons could readily apprehend; and in this he has entirely succeeded. His little book, however, is equally well adapted for better educated candidates, whose interest in the time-honoured formula so often repeated will probably be stimulated afresh by the novelty of the arrangement. Canon Norris's explanations are thoroughly clear, and it is needless to say that his teaching is sound and moderate.*"—SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.

"*A valuable little work, in which the principal points of the Church's teaching are clearly and fully set forth. The remarks on the Sacraments are exceedingly good, and although these 'Lessons' are primarily intended for those who are preparing for confirmation, they might with advantage be studied by those who, having passed this stage, are desirous of refreshing their memories respecting the doctrines they profess to believe.*"—ROCK.

Catechesis; or, Christian Instruction

preparatory to Confirmation and First Communion. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L., Bishop of St. Andrews. New Edition. Small 8vo. 2*s.*

8. Allegories and Tales.

Allegories and Tales. By the Rev. W. E. Heygate, M.A., Rector of Brighstone. Crown 8vo. 5s.

"It is eminently original, and every one of its sixty-three short allegories is a story that the dullest child will read and the intelligent child will understand and enjoy. Grave thought, kindly raillery, biting sarcasm, grim humour, sincere indignation, wise counsel, a broad charity, and other characteristics, run through the allegories, many of which are highly poetical and good models of that style of composition."—Edinburgh Courant.

"Mr. Heygate's volume contains about sixty short tales or allegories, all rife with good teaching, plainly set forth, and written in a very engaging and attractive style. As a present for children this book would be at once acceptable and beneficial. It can be highly commended."—Church Herald.

"There are both grace and precision about these 'Allegories and Tales,' which make them charming to read either for young or for old. The stories are some of them quaint, some of them picturesque, all of them pleasant; and the moral they inclose shines out soft and clear as through a crystal. This is a book that may be recommended for a present, not only for young people, but for those of larger growth."—Athenæum.

"The Rector of Brighstone has the gift of writing moral and spiritual lessons for the young in the most attractive fashion. His 'Allegories and Tales' are excellent specimens of stories, with a moral, in which the moral is not obtrusive and yet is not lost."—English Independent.

"A book of very great beauty and power. Mr. Heygate is a thoughtful, earnest and able writer, on whom more than any one is fallen in a striking manner the mantle of the great author of 'Agathos.'"—John Bull.

Sacred Allegories. The Shadow of the Cross—The Distant Hills—The Old Man's Home—The King's Messengers. By the Rev. William Adams, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. New Edition. With numerous Illustrations. Crown 8vo. 5s.

The Four Allegories may be had separately, with Illustrations. 16mo. 1s. each.

The First Chronicle of Æscendune.

A Tale of the Days of Saint Dunstan. By the Rev. A. D. CRAKE, B.A., Author of the "History of the Church under the Roman Empire," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"The volume will possess a strong interest, especially for the young, and be useful, too, for though in form a tale, it may be classed among 'the side-lights of history.'"—STANDARD.

"Altogether the book shows great thought and careful study of the manners and customs of those early Saxon times."—JOHN BULL.

"We shall be glad when Mr. Crake takes up his pen once more, to give us a further instalment of the annals of the House of Æscendune."—CHURCH TIMES.

"A very interesting and well-written story of Saxon times—the times of Dunstan and the hapless Edwy. The author has evidently taken great pains to examine into the real history of the period. We can scarcely imagine it possible that it should be anything else than a great favourite,"—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"It is one of the best historical tales for the young that has been published for a long time."—NONCONFORMIST.

"Written with much spirit and a careful attention to the best authorities on the history of the period of which he treats."—NATIONAL CHURCH.

"The facts upon which the Chronicle is based have been carefully brought together from a variety of sources, and great skill has been shown in the construction of the narrative. The aim of the author is certainly a good one, and his efforts have been attended with a considerable amount of success."—ROCK.

Alfgar the Dane, or the Second Chronicle of Æscendune.

A Tale. By the Rev. A. D. CRAKE, B.A., Author of the "History of the Church under the Roman Empire," &c. &c. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

"Mr. Crake's 'Chronicles of Æscendune' have their second instalment in 'Alfgar the Dane,' a youth who is saved from the massacre on S. Brice's night to meet with many capital adventures."—GUARDIAN.

"Sure to be excessively popular with boys, and we look forward with great interest to the Third Chronicle, which will tell of the Norman invasion."—CHURCH TIMES.

"As in his former production, Mr. Crake seems to have taken great pains to be correct in his facts, and he has, we really believe, combined accuracy with liveliness. Schoolboys, not at Bloxham only, ought to be very grateful to him; though in thus speaking we by no means intend to imply that seniors will not find this little book both interesting and instructive. Its tone is as excellent as that of Mr. Crake's previous tale."—CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"Here, strung together with characters in harmony with the times, is a thoroughly well-written history of the later Danish invasions of England. . . . . As a tale his work is interesting; as a history it is of very considerable value."—NONCONFORMIST.

"It is not often that a writer combines so completely the qualities which go to make up the historian and the novelist, but Mr. Crake has this happy conjunction of faculties in an eminent degree."—STANDARD.

Semele; or, The Spirit of Beauty: a Venetian Tale. By the Rev. J. D. MEREWEATHER, B.A. English Chaplain at Venice. Small 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Hillford Confirmation: A Tale. By M. C. PHILLPOTTS. New Edition. 16mo. 1*s.*

9. History and Biography.

Bossuet and his Contemporaries.

By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"*It contains so many interesting facts that it may be profitably read even by those who already know the man and the period.*"—SPECTATOR.

"*Here is a clear and good work, the product of thorough industry and of honest mind.*"—NONCONFORMIST.

"*All biography is delightful, and this story of Bossuet is eminently so.*"—NOTES AND QUERIES.

"*Bossuet's daily life, his style of preaching, his association with the stirring political, social, and ecclesiastical events of his time, are presented in a simple but picturesque way.*"—DAILY NEWS.

"*We are always glad to welcome a fresh work from the graceful pen of the author of 'A Dominican Artist.'*"—SATURDAY REVIEW.

Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai. A Biographical Sketch.

By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"*Those who know—and we may fairly ask, who does not?—the charming books which we have already had from the present writer, will need nothing more than the announcement of it to make them welcome this new account of the life of the saintly Fénelon.*"—CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"*The history of the Church offers few more attractive biographies than that of the great Archbishop, whom everybody appreciated save his king.*"—GUARDIAN.

"*The delightful volume under notice will add much to the well-deserved reputation of its author.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*The writer has found a subject which suits her genius, and she handles it with both skill and sympathy. . . . The account of his life at Cambrai is one of the most delightful narratives that we have ever read. It would be scarcely too much to extend the same praise to the whole book.*"—SPECTATOR.

"*Fénelon is thoroughly readable, and is much more than a biographical sketch. There are nearly 500 pages, and there are very few which fail to give a reader something for glad or serious thought.*"—NOTES AND QUERIES.

"*We doubt much whether the real man was ever so vividly portrayed or his portrait so elegantly framed as in this choice and readable book.*"—WATCHMAN.

"*One of the great charms of this work consists in the letters scattered up and down its pages, some addressed to his royal pupil, and others to his friends. The sweet nature and singular fascination of the Archbishop shine forth conspicuously in these self-revelations, which breathe a truly religious spirit.*"—ENGLISH INDEPENDENT.

A Christian Painter of the Nineteenth

Century; being the Life of Hippolyte Flandrin. By H. L. SIDNEY, LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"This is a touching and instructive story of a life singularly full of nobility, affection, and grace, and it is worthily told."—SPECTATOR.

"Sympathetic, popular, and free, almost to a fault, from technicalities. . . . The book is welcome as a not untimely memorial to a man who deserves to be held up as an example."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

"The record of a life marked by exalted aims, and crowned by no small amount of honour and success, cannot but be welcome to earnest students of all kinds. . . . There are many fine pieces of criticism in this book,—utterances of Flandrin's which show the clear wit of the man, his candour, and self-balanced judgment. . . . . We have written enough to show how interesting the book is."—ATHENÆUM.

"This is a charming addition to biographical literature."—NOTES AND QUERIES.

A Dominican Artist: A Sketch of the

Life of the Rev. Père Besson, of the Order of St. Dominic. By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"The author of the Life of Père Besson writes with a grace and refinement of devotional feeling peculiarly suited to a subject-matter which suffers beyond most others from any coarseness of touch. It would be difficult to find 'the simplicity and purity of a holy life' more exquisitely illustrated than in Father Besson's career, both before and after his joining the Dominican Order under the auspices of Lacordaire. . . . Certainly we have never come across what could more strictly be termed in the truest sense 'the life of a beautiful soul.' The author has done well in presenting to English readers this singularly graceful biography, in which all who can appreciate genuine simplicity and nobleness of Christian character will find much to admire and little or nothing to condemn."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

"It would indeed have been a deplorable omission had so exquisite a biography been by any neglect lost to English readers, and had a character so perfect in its simple and complete devotion been withheld from our admiration. . . . . But we have dwelt too long already on this fascinating book, and must now leave it to our readers."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

"A beautiful and most interesting sketch of the late Père Besson, an artist who forsook the easel for the altar."—CHURCH TIMES.

"Whatever a reader may think of Père Besson's profession as a monk, no one will doubt his goodness; no one can fail to profit who will patiently read his life, as here written by a friend, whose sole defect is in being slightly unctuous."—ATHENÆUM.

"The story of Père Besson's life is one of much interest, and told with simplicity, candour, and good feeling."—SPECTATOR.

"We strongly recommend it to our readers. It is a charming biography, that will delight and edify both old and young."—WESTMINSTER GAZETTE.

The Life of Madame Louise de France,

Daughter of Louis XV., also known as the Mother Térèse de S. Augustin. By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"Such a record of deep, earnest, self-sacrificing piety, beneath the surface of Parisian life, during what we all regard as the worst age of French godlessness, ought to teach us all a lesson of hope and faith, let appearances be what they may. Here, from out of the court and family of Louis XV. there issues this Madame Louise, whose life is set before us as a specimen of as calm and unworldly devotion—of a devotion, too, full of shrewd sense and practical administrative talent—as any we have ever met with."—LITERARY CHURCHMAN.

The Revival of Priestly Life in the

Seventeenth Century in France. CHARLES DE CONDREN—S. PHILIP NERI and CARDINAL DE BERULLE—S. VINCENT DE PAUL—SAINT SULPICE and JEAN JACQUES OLIER. By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"A book the authorship of which will command the respect of all who can honour sterling worth. No Christian, to whatever denomination he may belong, can read without quick sympathy and emotion these touching sketches of the early Oratorians and the Lazarists."—STANDARD.

Life of S. Francis de Sales. By H. L. SIDNEY LEAR. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"It is written with the delicacy, freshness, and absence of all affectation which characterized the former works by the same hand, and which render these books so very much more pleasant reading than are religious biographies in general. The character of S. Francis de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, is a charming one. His unaffected humility, his freedom from dogmatism in an age when dogma was placed above religion, his freedom from bigotry in an age of persecution, were alike admirable."—STANDARD.

"The author of 'A Dominican Artist,' in writing this new life of the wise and loving Bishop and Prince of Geneva, has aimed less at historical or ecclesiastical investigation than at a vivid and natural representation of the inner mind and life of the subject of his biography, as it can be traced in his own writings and in those of his most intimate and affectionate friends. The book is written with the grave and quiet grace which characterizes the productions of its author, and cannot fail to please those readers who can sympathize with all forms of goodness and devotion to noble purpose."—WESTMINSTER REVIEW.

"A book which contains the record of a life as sweet, pure, and noble, as any man by divine help, granted to devout sincerity of soul, has been permitted to live upon earth. The example of this gentle but resolute and energetic spirit, wholly dedicated to the highest conceivable good, offering itself, with all the temporal uses of mental existence, to the service of infinite and eternal beneficence, is extremely touching. It is a book worthy of acceptance."—DAILY NEWS.

Henri Perreyve. By A. Gratry, Prêtre

de l'Oratoire, Professeur de Morale Evangélique à la Sorbonne, et Membre de l'Académie Française. Translated by special permission. With Portrait. By H. L. Sidney Lear. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Forming a Volume of "Christian Biographies."

"A most touching and powerful piece of biography, interspersed with profound reflections on personal religion, and on the prospects of Christianity."—Church Review.

"The works of the translator of Henri Perreyve form, for the most part, a series of saintly biographies which have obtained a larger share of popularity than is generally accorded to books of this description. . . . The description of his last days will probably be read with greater interest than any other part of the book; presenting as it does an example of fortitude under suffering, and resignation, when cut off so soon after entering upon a much-coveted and useful career, of rare occurrence in this age of self-assertion. This is, in fact, the essential teaching of the entire volume."—Morning Post.

"Those who take a pleasure in reading a beautiful account of a beautiful character would do well to procure the Life of 'Henri Perreyve.' . . . . We would especially recommend the book for the perusal of English priests, who may learn many a holy lesson from the devoted spirit in which the subject of the memoir gave himself up to the duties of his sacred office, and to the cultivation of the graces with which he was endowed."—Church Times.

"It is easy to see that Henri Perreyve, Professor of Moral Theology at the Sorbonne, was a Roman Catholic priest of no ordinary type. With comparatively little of what Protestants call superstition, with great courage and sincerity, with a nature singularly guileless and noble, his priestly vocation, although pursued, according to his biographer, with unbridled zeal, did not stifle his human sympathies and aspirations. He could not believe that his faith compelled him 'to renounce sense and reason,' or that a priest was not free to speak, act, and think like other men. Indeed, the Abbé Gratry makes a kind of apology for his friend's free-speaking in this respect, and endeavours to explain it. Perreyve was the beloved disciple of Lacordaire, who left him all his manuscripts, notes, and papers, and he himself attained the position of a great pulpit orator."—Pall Mall Gazette.

The Last Days of Père Gratry. By Père

Adolphe Perraud, of the Oratory, and Professor of La Sorbonne. Translated by special permission. By the Author of "Life of S. Francis de Sales," &c. Crown 8vo. *3s. 6d.*

Walter Kerr Hamilton, Bishop of Salis-

bury. A Sketch by Henry Parry Liddon, D.D., Canon of St. Paul's, and Ireland Professor of Exegesis in the University of Oxford. Second Edition. 8vo. *2s. 6d.*

Life of S. Vincent de Paul. With Introduction by the Rev. R. F. WILSON, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury and Vicar of Rownhams, and Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury. Crown 8vo. 9s.

"A most readable volume, illustrating plans and arrangements, which from the circumstances of the day are invested with peculiar interest."—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

"All will be pleased at reading the present admirably written narrative, in which we do not know whether to admire more the candour and earnestness of the writer or his plain, sensible, and agreeable style."—WEEKLY REGISTER.

"We trust that this deeply interesting and beautifully written biography will be extensively circulated in England."—CHURCH HERALD.

"We heartily recommend the introduction to the study of all concerned with ordinations."—GUARDIAN.

"We are glad that S. Vincent de Paul, one of the most remarkable men produced by the Gallican Church, has at last found a competent English biographer. The volume before us has evidently been written with conscientious care and scrupulous industry. It is based on the best authorities, which have been compared with praiseworthy diligence; its style is clear, elegant, and unambitious; and it shows a fine appreciation of the life and character of the man whom it commemorates."—SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.

"Mr. Wilson has done his work admirably and evidently con amore, *and he completely proves the thesis with which he starts, viz., that in the life of the Saint there is a homeliness and simplicity, and a general absence of the miraculous or the more ascetic type of saintliness."*—JOHN BULL.

Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of the Province of South Africa. Edited by his Son, the Rev. CHARLES GRAY, M.A., Vicar of Helmsley, York. With Portrait and Map. 2 Vols. 8vo. 32s.

"This work is more than a biography; it is a valuable addition to the history of the nineteenth century. Mr. Keble more than once described Bishop Gray's struggles as 'like a bit out of the fourth century.'"—GUARDIAN.

"We welcome it as a worthy tribute to the memory of one who possessed the true apostolic spirit, was a faithful son of the Church, and a distinguished ornament of the Episcopate."—STANDARD.

"Not only interesting as the record of a good man's life, but extremely valuable as materials for Church history."—CHURCH TIMES.

Life, Journals, and Letters of Henry ALFORD, D.D., late Dean of Canterbury. Edited by his WIDOW. With Portrait and Illustrations. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 9s.

History of the Church under the Roman Empire, A.D. 30-476.

By the Rev. A. D. CRAKE, B.A. New Edition. Crown 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

"*A compendious history of the Christian Church under the Roman Empire will be hailed with pleasure by all readers of ecclesiastical lore. . . . The author is quite free from the spirit of controversialism; wherever he refers to a prevalent practice of ancient times he gives his authority. In his statement of facts or opinions he is always accurate and concise, and his manual is doubtless destined to a lengthened period of popularity.*"—MORNING POST.

"*It is very well done. It gives a very comprehensive view of the progress of events, ecclesiastical and political, at the great centres of civilisation during the first five centuries of Christianity.*"—DAILY NEWS.

"*In his well-planned and carefully written volume of 500 pages Mr. Crake has supplied a well-known and long-felt want. Relying on all the highest and best authorities for his main facts and conclusions, and wisely making use of all modern research, Mr. Crake has spared neither time nor labour to make his work accurate, trustworthy, and intelligent.*"—STANDARD.

"*Really interesting, well suited to the needs of those for whom it was prepared, and its Church tone is unexceptionable.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

"*As a volume for students and the higher forms of our public schools it is admirably adapted.*"—CHURCH HERALD.

"*We cordially recommend it for schools for the young.*"—ENGLISH CHURCHMAN.

"*Mr. Crake gives us in a clear and concise form a narrative of the Church history during the period with which it is most important that the young should first be made acquainted. The different events appear to be described with a judicious regard to their relative importance, and the manual may be safely recommended.*"—JOHN BULL.

"*The facts are well marshalled, the literary style of the book is simple and good; while the principles enunciated throughout render it a volume which may be safely put into the hands of students. For the higher forms of grammar-schools it is exactly the book required. Never ponderous, and frequently very attractive and interesting, it is at once readable and edifying, and fills efficiently a vacant place in elementary historical literature. Furthermore its type is clear and bold, and it is well broken up into paragraphs.*"—UNION REVIEW.

"*It retells an oft-told tale in a singularly fresh and perspicuous style, rendering the book neither above the comprehension of an intelligent boy or girl of fourteen or upwards, nor beneath the attention of an educated man. We can imagine no better book as an addition to a parochial library, as a prize, or as a reading book in the upper forms of middle-class schools.*"—SCOTTISH GUARDIAN.

Church Memorials and Characteristics;

being a Church History of the six First Centuries. By the late WILLIAM ROBERTS, Esq., M.A., F.R.S. Edited by his Son, ARTHUR ROBERTS, M.A., Rector of Woodrising, Norfolk. 8vo. *7s. 6d.*

Essays, Historical and Theological.

By J. B. MOZLEY, D.D., late Canon of Christ Church, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford. Two Vols. 8vo. 24*s*.

CONTENTS.

Volume I.—Introduction and Memoir of the Author—Lord Strafford—Archbishop Laud—Carlyle's Cromwell—Luther.

Volume II.—Dr. Arnold—Blancho White—Dr. Pusey's Sermon—The Book of Job—Maurice's Theological Essays—Indian Conversion—The Argument of Design—The Principle of Causation considered in Opposition to Atheistic Theorics—In Memoriam—List of the Author's Articles and Works.

"*These volumes, we cannot doubt, will be eagerly welcomed and largely read. They contain specimens, well selected, and extending over a period of thirty years, of the work of a great mind; the real greatness of which was, indeed, well known to all students of theology. . . . We trace in every page the handwriting of a mind which, though it may look with keen interest on all the varying movements of thought, in days past and present, and though it can handle with the grasp of a master any form of thought with which it comes to deal, yet is evidently a mind of deep, quiet reflection, facing alone before God the great questions of Truth and Being, 'brooding' over them (to use his own expression) until they take definite shape, never suffering them to come forth in the shape of that crude suggestion and hazy speculation so fashionable in these days, which touch many truths without really grasping them, and raise many questions but thoroughly answer none. . . . We hope we have said enough to give our readers some idea of these remarkable volumes, and to induce them to study them as a whole. Many other features might fairly claim notice; but these may be left to speak for themselves. As we read, we grieve more and more that it has pleased God to call from us so able a champion of His truth, and one hardly more impressive by the strength of his argument than by 'the quietness and confidence' of his spirit.*"—GUARDIAN.

"*We have said enough, we trust, to induce our readers to study these volumes for themselves. They will find in them much that will bear, not one, but many perusals.*"—SATURDAY REVIEW

"*These essays will be welcome even beyond the circle of those who, during his lifetime, had any knowledge of, or acquaintance with, their author. They are the products of a lucid, comprehensive, and powerful mind; the mind of one who was a student and a thinker, but who, by his vivid grasps of ideas, his firm faith in the principles he had made his own, and his faculty of impressive illustration, had much of the facility which is usually acquired only in the actual experience of the world.*"—BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"*Selected from the earliest as well as the latest of Dr. Mozley's writings, this collection represents not only the full extent of his mental powers, but also the course and ultimate issue of his intellectual career; for as it was by tenacity of purpose and determination of will that he obtained for his opinions recognition and esteem, so also, owing to his argumentative tenacity and intensity of aim, some of these essays, if the prophecy may be hazarded, will retain a lasting place in literature.*"—ATHENÆUM.

"*These Essays stand above the line of ephemeral literature. For the more experienced student of history it would be difficult to name a more positively refreshing book. Dr. Mozley was a hard hitter, and few writers have been able to strike so decisively on the weak points of an adversary's case.*" —CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

A Key to the Knowledge of Church History (Ancient).

Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Also a Cheap Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

"It offers a short and condensed account of the origin, growth, and condition of the Church in all parts of the world, from A.D. 1 *down to the end of the fifteenth century. Mr. Blunt's first object has been conciseness, and this has been admirably carried out, and to students of Church history this feature will readily recommend itself. As an elementary work 'A Key' will be specially valuable, inasmuch as it points out certain definite lines of thought, by which those who enjoy the opportunity may be guided in reading the statements of more elaborate histories. At the same time it is but fair to Mr. Blunt to remark that, for general readers, the little volume contains everything that could be consistently expected in a volume of its character. There are many notes, theological, scriptural, and historical, and the 'get up' of the book is specially commendable. As a text-book for the higher forms of schools the work will be acceptable to numerous teachers."*—PUBLIC OPINION.

"It contains some concise notes on Church History, compressed into a small compass, and we think it is likely to be useful as a book of reference."—JOHN BULL.

"A very terse and reliable collection of the main facts and incidents connected with Church History."—ROCK.

A Key to the Knowledge of Church History (Modern).

Edited by the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Small 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.* Also a Cheap Edition, 1*s.* 6*d.*

Forming a Volume of "Keys to Christian Knowledge."

The Reformation of the Church of England;

its History, Principles, and Results. A.D. 1514-1547. By the Rev. JOHN HENRY BLUNT, M.A., F.S.A., Editor of "The Annotated Book of Common Prayer," &c. &c. Fourth Edition. 8vo. 16*s.*

Perranzabuloe, the Lost Church Found;

or, The Church of England not a New Church, but Ancient, Apostolical, and Independent, and a Protesting Church Nine Hundred Years before the Reformation. By the Rev. C. T. COLLINS TRELAWNY, M.A., late Rector of Timsbury, Somerset. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*

The Principles of Catholic Reform;

or, The Harmony of Catholicism and Civilization. Conferences of 1878 in the Cirque d'Hiver, Paris. By HYACINTHE LOYSON, Priest. Translated by LADY DURAND. Crown 8vo, 3s. 6d.; or in paper cover, 3s.

The Life of Alexander Lycurgus,

Archbishop of the Cyclades. By F. M. F. SKENE. With an Introduction by the BISHOP OF LINCOLN. Crown 8vo. 3*s.* 6*d.*; or in paper cover, 3*s.*

Historical Narratives. From the Russian.

By H. C. ROMANOFF, Author of "Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church," &c. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Sketches of the Rites and Customs of

the Greco-Russian Church. By H. C. ROMANOFF. With an Introductory Notice by the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 7*s.* 6*d.*

"The volume before us is anything but a formal liturgical treatise. It might be more valuable to a few scholars if it were, but it would certainly fail to obtain perusal at the hands of the great majority of those whom the writer, not unreasonably, hopes to attract by the narrative style she has adopted. What she has set before us is a series of brief outlines, which, by their simple effort to clothe the information given us in a living garb, reminds us of a once-popular child's book which we remember a generation ago, called 'Sketches of Human Manners.'"—CHURCH TIMES.

"The twofold object of this work is 'to present the English with correct descriptions of the ceremonies of the Greco-Russian Church, and at the same time with pictures of domestic life in Russian homes, especially those of the clergy and the middle class of nobles;' and, beyond question, the author's labour has been so far successful that, whilst her Church scenes may be commended as a series of most dramatic and picturesque tableaux, her social sketches enable us to look at certain points beneath the surface of Russian life, and materially enlarge our knowledge of a country concerning which we have still a very great deal to learn."—ATHENÆUM.

Curious Myths of the Middle Ages.

By S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., Author of "Origin and Development of Religious Belief," &c. With Illustrations. New Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

Hellenica. A Collection of Essays on

Greek Poetry, Philosophy, History, and Religion. Edited by EVELYN ABBOTT, M.A., LL.D., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford. 8vo. 16*s.*

CONTENTS.

Aeschylus. E. Myers, M.A.—The Theology and Ethics of Sophocles. E. Abbott, M.A., LL.D.—System of Education in Plato's Republics. R. L. Nettleship, M.A.—Aristotle's Conception of the State. A. C. Bradley, M.A.—Epicurus. W. L. Courtney, M.A.—The Speeches of Thucydides. R. C. Jebb, M.A., LL.D.—Xenophon. H. G. Dakyns, M.A.—Polybius J. L. S. Davidson, M.A.—Greek Oracles. F. W. H. Myers, M.A.

[See RIVINGTON'S EDUCATIONAL LIST.]

The Antiquities of Greece. Translated

from the German of G. F. SCHOEMANN. By E. G. HARDY, M.A., Head-Master of the Grammar School, Grantham, and late Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford; and J. S. MANN, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. 8vo. 18*s.*

VOL. I.—THE STATE.

[See RIVINGTON'S EDUCATIONAL LIST.]

Historical Biographies. Edited by the

Rev. M. CREIGHTON, M.A., late Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. With Maps. Small 8vo.

SIMON DE MONTFORT. 2*s.* 6*d.*

THE BLACK PRINCE. 2*s.* 6*d.*

SIR WALTER RALEGH. 3*s.*

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON. 3*s.* 6*d.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH. 3*s.* 6*d.*

[See RIVINGTON'S EDUCATIONAL LIST.]

A History of England. By the Rev.

J. FRANCK BRIGHT, M.A., Fellow of University College, and Historical Lecturer in Balliol, New, and University Colleges, Oxford; late Master of the Modern School in Marlborough College. With Numerous Maps and Plans. New Editions, Crown 8vo.

PERIOD I.—FEUDAL MONARCHY. The Departure of the Romans, to Richard III. A.D. 449-1485. 4*s.* 6*d.*

PERIOD II.—PERSONAL MONARCHY. Henry VII. to James II. A.D. 1485-1688. 5*s.*

PERIOD III.—CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY. William and Mary, to the present time. A.D. 1689-1837. 7*s.* 6*d.*

[See RIVINGTON'S EDUCATIONAL LIST.]

A History of England for Children.

By GEORGE DAVYS, D.D., formerly Bishop of Peterborough. New Edition. 18mo. 1*s.* 6*d.*

Fables respecting the Popes of the

Middle Ages. A Contribution to Ecclesiastical History. By JOHN J. IGN. VON DÖLLINGER, D.D., D.C.L. Translated by the Rev. ALFRED PLUMMER, M.A., Master of University College, Durham, late Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. 8vo. 14*s.*

The Annual Register: a Review of Public

Events at Home and Abroad, for the Years 1863 to 1879. New Series. 8vo. 18*s.* each.

10. Miscellaneous.

Lyra Apostolica. [Poems, by J. W. BOWDEN, R. H. FROUDE, J. KEBLE, J. H. NEWMAN, R. J. WILBERFORCE, and J. WILLIAMS; and a New Preface by CARDINAL NEWMAN.] New Edition. 16mo. Red borders. *2s. 6d.*

Yesterday, To-Day, and for Ever: A Poem in Twelve Books. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead. One Shilling Edition, 18mo; 16mo, with Red Borders, *2s. 6d.*

Forming Volumes of "Rivington's Devotional Series."

The small 8vo Edition, *3s. 6d.*; and small 4to Presentation Edition, with Red Borders, *10s. 6d.*, may still be had.

"We should have noticed among its kind a very magnificent presentation edition of 'Yesterday, To-day, and for Ever,' by the Rev. E. H. Bickersteth. This blank-verse poem, in twelve books, has made its way into the religious world of England and America without much help from the critics. It is now made splendid for its admirers by morocco binding, broad margins, red lines, and beautiful photographs."—TIMES.

"The most simple, the richest, and the most perfect sacred poem which recent days have produced."—MORNING ADVERTISER.

"A poem worth reading, worthy of attentive study; full of noble thoughts, beautiful diction, and high imagination."—STANDARD.

"In these light miscellany days there is a spiritual refreshment in the spectacle of a man girding up the loins of his mind to the task of producing a genuine epic. And it is true poetry. There is a definiteness, a crispness about it, which in these moist, viewy, hazy days is no less invigorating than novel."—EDINBURGH DAILY REVIEW.

"Mr. Bickersteth writes like a man who cultivates at once reverence and earnestness of thought."—GUARDIAN.

The Two Brothers, and other Poems. By EDWARD HENRY BICKERSTETH, M.A., Vicar of Christ Church, Hampstead. Second Edition. Small 8vo. *6s.*

The Knight of Intercession, and other

Poems. By the Rev. S. J. STONE, M.A., Pembroke College, Oxford. Fourth Edition. Crown 8vo. 6*s.*

An Introduction to the Study of

Painted Glass. By A. A. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

"This modest little book, by a very modest author, though little more than a compilation, is sensibly and simply arranged and very carefully written. To those who have not time or opportunity to make a thorough study of the larger works on the subject, and yet wish to be able to take an intelligent interest in the windows of the churches they may see on their travels, it will prove a very valuable vade-mecum. *The characteristics of the different periods of glass-painting are clearly and shortly noted, and a sufficient account is given of the most remarkable examples of each style. . . . We are bound to say that the sound remarks scattered through the book on the principles of the art will be of much use to the student in forming a correct judgment as to the merit of any window he may see."*—ACADEMY.

"A little volume not intended to supersede the larger works on the same subject in great art libraries, but as a brief historical introduction decidedly most valuable."—GRAPHIC.

An Introduction to Form and Instru-

mentation, for the Use of Beginners in Composition. By W. A. BARRETT, Mus. Bac. Oxon., F.R.S.L., Vicar-Choral of St. Paul's Cathedral, Author of "Flowers and Festivals," "The Chorister's Guide," etc. Crown 8vo. 2*s.* 6*d.*

A Shadow of Dante. Being an Essay

towards studying Himself, his World, and his Pilgrimage. By MARIA FRANCESCA ROSSETTI. With Illustrations. Second Edition. Crown 8vo. 10*s.* 6*d.*

"We find the volume furnished with useful diagrams of the Dantesque universe, of Hell, Purgatory, and the 'Rose of the Blessed,' and adorned with a beautiful group of the likenesses of the poet, and with symbolic figures (on the binding) in which the taste and execution of Mr. D. G. Rossetti will be recognised. The exposition appears to us remarkably well arranged and digested; the author's appreciation of Dante's religious sentiments and opinions is peculiarly hearty, and her style refreshingly independent and original."—PALL MALL GAZETTE.

"The result has been a book which is not only delightful in itself to read, but is admirably adapted as an encouragement to those students who wish to obtain a preliminary survey of the land before they attempt to follow Dante through his long and arduous pilgrimage. Of all poets Dante stands most in need of such assistance as this book offers."—SATURDAY REVIEW.

Parish Musings; or, Devotional Poems. By JOHN S. B. MONSELL, LL.D., late Vicar of S. Nicholas, Guildford, and Rural Dean. New Edition. Small 8vo. 5*s*.

Also a Cheap Edition. Cloth limp, 1*s*. 6*d*.; or in paper cover, 1*s*.

A Reverie, and other Poems. By H. A. FENTON, M.A. Imperial 16mo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Miscellaneous Poems. By HENRY FRANCIS LYTE, M.A. New Edition. Small 8vo. 5*s*.

A Dictionary of English Philosophical Terms. By the Rev. FRANCIS GARDEN, M.A., Professor of Theology and Rhetoric at Queen's College, London, and Sub-Dean of Her Majesty's Chapels-Royal. Small 8vo. 4*s*. 6*d*.

At Home and Abroad; or, First Lessons in Geography. By J. K. LAUGHTON, M.A., F.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Mathematical Instructor and Lecturer in Meteorology at the Royal Naval College. Crown 8vo. 3*s*. 6*d*.

Mazzaroth; or, the Constellations. By FRANCES ROLLESTON. Royal 8vo. 12*s*.

The Testimony of the Stars to Truths revealed in the Bible. Abridged from the late Miss FRANCES ROLLESTON'S "Mazzaroth; or, The Constellations." By CAROLINE DENT. Crown 8vo. 1*s*. 6*d*.

A Life Record; or, The Godparent's

Gift-Book. Printed on Dutch hand-made paper. Square 16mo. Cloth gilt, 3s. 6d.; or in white cloth gilt, extra, 4s. 6d.

The Authorship of the "De Imitatione Christi."

With many interesting particulars about the Book. By SAMUEL KETTLEWELL, M.A., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Leeds. Containing Photographic Engravings of the "De Imitatione" written by Thomas à Kempis, 1441, and of two other MSS. 8vo. 14*s.*

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief.

By the Rev. S. BARING-GOULD, M.A., Author of "Curious Myths of the Middle Ages," &c. New Edition. Two Parts. Crown 8vo. 6*s.* each. Sold separately.

Part I. MONOTHEISM and POLYTHEISM.
Part II. CHRISTIANITY.

"*The ability which Mr. Baring-Gould displays in the treatment of a topic which branches out in so many directions, and requires such precise handling, is apparent. His pages abound with the results of large reading and calm reflection. The man of culture, thought, philosophic cast, is mirrored in the entire argument. The book is sound and healthy in tone. It excites the reader's interest, and brightens the path of inquiry opened to his view. The language, too, is appropriate, neat, lucid, often happy, sometimes wonderfully terse and vigorous.*"—ATHENÆUM.

"*Mr. Baring-Gould has undertaken a great and ambitious work. And no one can deny that he possesses some eminent qualifications for this great work. He has a wealth of erudition of the most varied description, especially in those particular regions of mediæval legend and Teutonic mythology which are certain to make large contributions to the purpose he has in hand. It is a contribution of very high value.*"—GUARDIAN.

"*Mr. Baring-Gould's work, from the importance of its subject and the lucid force of its expositions, as well as from the closeness of argument and copiousness of illustration with which its comprehensive views are treated, is entitled to attentive study, and will repay the reader by amusement and instruction.*"—MORNING POST.

"*Our space warns us that we are attempting in vain to compress into a few columns the contents of a work which has had few equals for brilliancy, learning, and point in this department of literature. We therefore conclude by recommending the volume itself to all students of mind and theology.*"—CHURCH TIMES.

Rivington's Devotional Series.

IN ELEGANT BINDINGS, SUITABLE FOR PRESENTS.

"TO many persons there is something repulsive in a devotional volume unbound, and Messrs. Rivington have now turned their attention to the binding of their Devotional Library in forms that, like the books themselves, are neat, handsome, good, and attractive."—*The Bookseller.*

The Christian Year.

16MO. ELEGANTLY PRINTED WITH RED BORDERS.

	£	s.	d.
CALF *or* MOROCCO *limp, blind tooled*	0	5	0
THE SAME, ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL ENGRAVINGS .	0	6	6
THE SAME, ILLUSTRATED WITH A CHOICE SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS	0	9	0
MOROCCO *superior*	0	6	6
RUSSIA *limp, gilt cross*	0	8	6
RUSSIA *limp, gilt lines and gilt cross*, ILLUSTRATED WITH A CHOICE SELECTION OF PHOTOGRAPHS . . .	0	12	6
TURKEY MOROCCO, *limp circuit*	0	7	6
RUSSIA, *limp circuit*	0	9	0

The Christian Year.

CHEAP EDITION, WITHOUT THE RED BORDERS.

FRENCH ROAN, *red inlaid or gilt outline cross* . .	0	1	6
THE SAME, ILLUSTRATED WITH STEEL ENGRAVINGS .	0	2	6
FRENCH MOROCCO, *gilt extra*	0	2	0

The Imitation of Christ is also kept in the above-mentioned styles at the same prices.

The other Volumes of "The Devotional Series," viz.:—

Chilcot's Evil Thoughts
Devotional Birthday Book
Herbert's English Poems and Proverbs
De Sales' Devout Life
Taylor's Holy Living
Taylor's Holy Dying
Wilson's Lord's Supper
Yesterday, To-Day, and for Ever

Can also be had in a variety of elegant bindings.

Index.

	PAGE
ABBOTT, *Hellenica*	86
ADAMS, *Sacred Allegories*	74
—— *Warnings of Holy Week*	55
A KEMPIS, *Imitation* 19, 29,	92
ALFORD, *Life and Journal*	81
—— *Greek Testament*	7
—— *New Testament*	7
ANDREWES, *Manual for the Sick*	27
Angels, The Holy	46
Annotated Bible	9
Annotated Prayer Book	2
—— *Compendious Edition*	1
Annual Register	87
Ascetic Library:—	
Mysteries of Mount Calvary	36
Counsels on Holiness of Life	36
Preparation for Death	36
Examination of Conscience	36
AUGUSTINE, S., *Confessions* 19,	29
AVANCINI, *Vita et Doctrina*	35
BAKER, *Manual of Devotion*	33
BALL, *On the Articles*	43
Bampton Lectures for 1865, by MOZLEY	46
—— 1866, by LIDDON	51
—— 1867, by GARBETT	49
—— 1872, by EATON	67
—— 1874, by LEATHES	65
BARING-GOULD, *Religious Belief*	91
—— *Curious Myths*	85
BARRETT, *Flowers and Festivals*	38
—— *Chorister's Guide*	38
—— *Form and Instrumentation*	89
BARROW, *Mystery of Christ*	17
BEAMONT, *Prayer Book Interleaved*	3
BEAVEN, *Help to Catechising*	72
BICKERSTETH (Dean), *Apostles' Creed*	72
—— *Questions on the Articles*	72
—— (E. H.), *Yesterday, &c.*	88
—— *The Two Brothers*	88
BISHOP, *Notes on Church Organs*	38
BLUNT, *Annotated Bible*	9
—— *Annotated Prayer Book*	2
—— — *Compendious Edition*	1
—— *Dictionary of Theology*	44
—— — *Sects, Heresies, &c.*	43
—— *Directorium Pastorale*	40
—— *Doctrine of the Church*	43
BLUNT, *Sacraments*	4
—— *Household Theology*	69
—— *Key to Church Catechism*	69
—— — *History (Ancient)*	84
—— — *(Modern)*	84
—— *Holy Bible*	17
—— *Prayer Book*	4
—— *Reformation*	84
—— *Book of Church Law*	37
BODY, *Life of Justification*	63
—— — *Temptation*	63
Bossuet and his Contemporaries	77
BREWER, *Athanasian Creed*	5
BRIGHT, J. F., *English History*	87
BRIGHT, W., *Faith and Life*	23
—— *and* MEDD, *Liber Precum*	2
BROWNING. *See Historical Handbooks.*	
BRUTON, *Ecclesiastical Dilapidations*	39
CAMPION, *Prayer Book Interleaved*	3
CARR, *Notes on S. Luke*	8
CHILCOT, *Evil Thoughts*	30
Christian Biographies	77—80
—— *Painter*	78
—— *Year* 19, 25,	92
Church Builder	41
—— *Law, Book of*	38
Clergy Charities, List of	41
COLES, *Good Friday Addresses*	58
Companion to the Old Testament	12
COMPTON, *The Catholic Sacrifice*	59
—— *Armoury of Prayer*	32
Consoling Thoughts in Sickness	32
COOK, *Church Doctrine*	51
CORDERY, *Homer's Iliad*	87
CRAKE, *First Chronicle*	75
—— *Alfgar the Dane*	75
—— *History of the Church*	82
CREIGHTON. *See Hist. Biog.*	
CRUDEN, *Concordance to the Bible*	18
Daily Gleanings	24
DALE, *Ecclesiastes*	11
DAVYS, *History of England*	87
DENTON, *the Lord's Prayer*	6
DENT, *Testimony of the Stars*	90
Devotional Birthday Book	31
Dictionary of Theology	44
—— *Sects, Heresies, &c.*	43

	PAGE
DÖLLINGER, *Prophecies*	47
—— *on Reunion*	47
—— *the Popes*	87
Dominican Artist (A)	78
EATON, *The Permanence of Christianity*	67
Eirenicon of 18th Century	45
ELLISON, *Doctrine of the Cross*	66
—— *Married Life*	66
EVANS, *The Bishopric of Souls*	40
Fénelon, A Biographical Sketch	77
—— *Spiritual Letters to Men*	26
—— — *to Women*	26
FENTON, *A Reverie*	50
FIELD, *Stones of the Temple*	39
FLETCHER, *Holy Communion*	22
For Days and Years	23
FOSBERY, *Hymns and Poems*	25
—— *Voices of Comfort*	25
From Morning to Evening	35
GARBETT, *Dogmatic Faith*	49
GARDEN, *Dictionary*	90
GARLAND, *Genesis*	16
GEDGE, *The Prayer Book*	71
Godparent's Gift-Book	91
GOULBURN, *Acts of the Deacons*	16
—— *The Child Samuel*	20
—— *The Communion Office*	4
—— *Study of the Scriptures*	10
—— *Farewell Counsels*	66
—— *Family Prayers*	33
—— *Gospel of the Childhood*	20
—— *Holy Catholic Church*	40
—— *Manual of Confirmation*	73
—— *Pursuit of Holiness*	20
—— *Short Devotional Forms*	20
—— *The Idle Word*	72
—— *Personal Religion*	20
GRATRY, *Life of Henri Perreyve*	80
—— *(Père), Last Days of*	80
Gray, Life of Bishop	81
Guide to Heaven	21
HADDAN, *Apost. Succession*	45
HALL, *Psalms and Hymns*	6
—— *New Mitre Hymnal*	6
Hamilton (Bishop), a Sketch	80
HARDY, *Antiquities of Greece*	86
Hellenica	86
Help and Comfort for the Sick Poor	35
HERBERT, *Poems and Proverbs*	28, 92
HEYGATE, *Allegories and Tales*	74
—— *The Good Shepherd*	34
Hidden Life of the Soul	19, 30
Historical Biographies:—	
Simon de Montfort	86
The Black Prince	86
Sir Walter Ralegh	86
The Duke of Wellington	86
The Duke of Marlborough	86
HODGSON, *Instruc. for Clergy*	40
HOOK, *Family Prayer*	33
HUTCHINGS, *Temptation*	64
Hymnal, New Mitre	6
Hymns and Poems for the Sick	25
JACKSON, *The Christian Character*	68
JAMES, *Christian Watchfulness*	36
—— *Comment upon the Collects*	4
JANUS, *The Pope and the Council*	49
JELF, *On the XXXIX Articles*	49
JONES, *Priest and Parish*	38
JOYCE, *The Civil Power*	45
KAY, *On the Psalms*	11
KEBLE, *The Christian Year*	19, 25, 92
Keble College Sermons	66
KENNAWAY, *Consolatio*	32
KETTLEWELL, *Gospel History*	72
—— *Authorship of "De Imitatione Christi"*	91
Keys to Christian Knowledge:—	
Key to the Four Gospels	13
—— *Acts*	13
—— *Holy Bible*	17
—— *Prayer Book*	4
—— *Church Catechism*	69
—— *History (Ancient)*	84
—— — *(Modern)*	84
Knight of Intercession	89
LAUGHTON, *Home and Abroad*	90
LEAR, *Christian Biographies*	77—80
LEAR, *For Days and Years*	23
—— *Pascal's Thoughts*	23
LEATHES, *Religion of the Christ*	65
—— *Witness of the Old Testament to Christ*	65

	PAGE
LEATHES, *Witness of St. Paul to Christ*	65
—— — *St. John to Christ*	65
LEE, *Inspiration of Holy Scrip.*	18
LEFROY, *Pleadings for Christ*	51
Liber Precum Publicarum	2
Library of Spiritual Works for English Catholics:—	
A KEMPIS, *Imitation*	19
The Christian Year	19
SCUPOLI, *The Spiritual Combat*	19
S. F. DE SALES, *Devout Life*	19
—— *Love of God*	19
—— *Spiritual Letters*	19
Confessions of St. Augustine	19
The Hidden Life of the Soul	19
LIDDON, *Divinity of our Lord*	51
—— *Elements of Religion*	50
—— *University Sermons*	50
—— *Second Series*	50
—— *Walter Kerr Hamilton*	80
—— *Andrewes' Manual*	26
Life Record, A	91
Light of the Conscience	32
Litanies, A Book of	3
LOUISE DE FRANCE, *Life of*	79
LOWDER, *St. George's Mission*	40
LOYSON (H.), *Principles of Catholic Reform*	85
Lycurgus, Life of Alexander	85
Lyra Apostolica	88
LYTE, *Miscellaneous Poems*	90
LYTTELTON, *Private Devotions*	22
LUCKOCK, *After Death*	47
MACCOLL, *Athanasian Creed*	5
MANN, *Antiquities of Greece*	86
MANT, *Ancient Hymns*	31
—— *Happiness of the Blessed*	48
Manuals of Religious Instruction	70
MEDD, *Household Prayer*	33
—— *Parish Sermons*	67
—— and BRIGHT, *Liber Precum*	2
—— and WALTON, *Com. Pray.*	2
Meditations on our Lord	21
MELVILL, *Sermons*	60
—— *Latter Sermons*	62
—— *Less Prominent Facts*	61
—— *Lothbury Lectures*	60
MERCIER, *Our Mother Church*	46
MOBERLY, *Plain Sermons*	57
—— *Great Forty Days*	57
—— *Sermons at Winchester*	57
MOLYNEUX, *Reason and Faith*	68
MONSELL, *Parish Musings*	90
MOORE, (DANIEL), *Aids to Prayer*	33
—— *Sermons*	64
—— *The Age and the Gospel*	64
MORRELL, *Book for Nurses*	27
MOZLEY, *Essays Hist. and Theol.*	83
—— *Miracles*	48
—— *Old Testament*	12
—— *Parochial and Occasional Sermons*	58
—— *Theory of Development*	46
—— *University Sermons*	59
MULLINS, *Southey's Nelson*	86
NEALE, *The Virgin's Lamp*	34
NEWMAN, *Parochial Sermons*	54, 55
—— *Selection from*	53
—— *Justification*	56
—— *Subjects of the Day*	56
—— *University Sermons*	56
—— *Lyra Apostolica*	88
NORRIS, *Man. of Rel. Instruc.*	70
—— *Key to the Four Gospels*	13
—— — *Acts of the Apostles*	13
—— *Rudiments of Theology*	71
—— *Lessons for Confirm.*	73
OMMANNEY, *The Athanasian Creed*	5
OXENHAM, *Eirenicon*	45
—— *Sermons*	68
Painted Glass, Study of	89
PARNELL, *Ars Pastoria*	41
Pascal's Thoughts, Selection from	23
Path of Holiness	21
PEPYS, *Morning Notes of Praise*	33
—— *Quiet Moments*	33
PERRAUD, *Last Days of Père Gratry*	80
Perreyve (Henri) Life of	80
PHILLIMORE (Sir R.), *Ecclesiastical Judgments*	46
—— (W. G. F.), and BLUNT, *Book of Church Law*	38
PHILPOTTS, *Hillford Confirm.*	76
PLUMPTRE, *Words of the Son of God*	34
POLLOCK, *Out of the Body*	47
Prayer Book, American	3
—— *Annotated*	2
—— *Illuminated*	3
—— *Interleaved*	3

	PAGE
Prayer Book, Latin	2
——— *of Edward VI.*	2
Prayers and Meditations	22
Prayers for the Sick and Dying	35
Priest to the Altar	5
PROBY, *Ecclesiastes*	16
——— *Ten Canticles*	16
Psalter	6
PUSEY, *On the Minor Prophets*	17
——— *Daniel*	17
QUIRINUS, *Letters from Rome*	49
RANDOLPH, *Notes on Obadiah*	11
Revival of Priestly Life	79
RIDLEY, *Bible Readings*	18
Rivington's Devotional Series :—	
A KEMPIS, *Imitation of Christ*	22, 92
BICKERSTETH, *Yesterday*	88, 92
DE SALES, *Devout Life*	29, 92
HERBERT, *Poems and Prov.*	28, 92
WILSON, *the Lord's Supper*	28, 92
TAYLOR, *Holy Living*	29, 92
——— *Dying*	29, 92
CHILCOT, *Evil Thoughts*	30
The Christian Year	25, 92
The Devotional Birthday Book	31
ROBERTS, *Church Memorials*	82
ROLLESTON, *Mazzaroth*	90
ROMANOFF, *Historical Nar.*	85
——— *S. John Chrysos. Liturgy*	48
——— *Greco-Russian Church*	85
ROSSETTI, *A Shadow of Dante*	89
SALES, S. FRANCIS DE, *Life*	79
——— *Spiritual Letters*	27
——— *Spirit*	30
——— *Devout Life*	29, 29, 92
——— *The Love of God*	19, 29
SCHOEMANN, *Antiquities of Greece*	86
SCUDAMORE, *Notitia Eucharist.*	5
——— *Words to take with us*	22
SCUPOLI, *Spiritual Combat*	19
Self-Renunciation	24
SEWELL, *Microscope of the New Testament*	10
SHIPLEY, *Ascetic Library*	36
SHUTTLEWORTH, *Sermons*	68
——— *Not Tradition*	68
Sickness, Consoling Thoughts	32
——— *its Trials and Blessings*	35
SINCLAIR (Archdeacon), *Thirty-two Years of the Church*	49
SKENE, *Alexander Lycurgus*	85
SKINNER, *Guide of Life*	35
SMITH, *English Institutions*	85
——— (H.), *Notes on the Acts*	16
Spiritual Guidance	24
Star of Childhood	21
STONE, *Poems*	89
STRACEY, *Sermons on the Psalms*	65
Sunday Evenings in the Family	22
TAYLOR, *Holy Living*	29, 92
——— *Dying*	29, 31, 92
Testimony of the Stars	90
Treasury of Devotion	21
TRELAWNY, *Perranzabuloe,*	84
VINCENT DE PAUL, *Life of S.*	81
Voices of Comfort	25
WALTON *Com. Pray. of* 1549	2
Way of Life	21
WEBSTER, *Syntax and Synonyms of the Greek Testament*	18
WILLIAMS, *Devotional Com.:—*	
Study of the Holy Gospels	14
Harmony of Four Evan	14
Our Lord's Nativity	14
Ministry (2nd Year	14
——— (3rd Year)	14
The Holy Week	14
Our Lord's Passion	14
——— *Resurrection*	14
——— *Apocalypse*	15
——— *Book of Genesis*	15
——— *Characters of Old Test.*	15
——— *Female Characters*	15
——— *Epistles and Gospels*	52
WILSON (Bishop), *Lord's Sup.*	28, 92
——— (R. F.), *S. Vin. de Paul*	81
WORDSWORTH (Bp. CHARLES), *Catechesis*	73
——— (Bp. CHR.), *Commentary*	8
——— *— Greek Testament*	8
——— *Inspiration of the Bible*	18
——— *Miscellanies*	46
Words of the Son of God	34


00067774

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018